

## Tilburg University

### The Spirit and the Church

Moons, Jos

DOI:  
[10.26116/srt2-sd09](https://doi.org/10.26116/srt2-sd09)

Publication date:  
2018

Document Version  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Tilburg University Research Portal](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*  
Moons, J. (2018). *The Spirit and the Church: A Redaction-Historical and Theological-Historical Analysis of the Pneumatological Renewal in Lumen Gentium*. [Doctoral Thesis, Tilburg University]. [s.n.].  
<https://doi.org/10.26116/srt2-sd09>

#### General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

#### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

# **The Spirit and the Church**

**A Redaction-Historical and Theological-Historical Analysis  
of the Pneumatological Renewal  
in *Lumen Gentium***

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor  
aan Tilburg University  
op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. E.H.L. Aarts,  
in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van een  
door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie  
in de aula van de Universiteit op woensdag 30 mei 2018 om 16.00 uur  
door  
Jozef Hendricus Maria Moons SJ  
geboren te Gouda

Promotor:

Prof. dr. H.P.J. (Henk) Witte

Copromotor:

Dr. K. (Karim) Schelkens

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. P. (Peter) De Mey

Prof. dr. J. (Joseph) Famerée

Prof. dr. P.D. (Paul) Murray

Prof. dr. M. (Marcel) Sarot

Color Image, Leuven

© J.H.M. Moons, 2018

Cover illustration: “Opening Session Vatican II, Third Session”, by Frederick Frank. © Frederick Franck. Used with the permission of Pacem in Terris, the Frederick Franck Museum.

<b>Table of Content</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>v</b>
 <b>General Introduction</b>	 <b>1</b>
<i>Geistvergessenheit</i>	1
Renewal: Terminological and Methodological Considerations	4
<i>Lumen Gentium</i>	8
Research Design	9
 <b>PART I. <i>Status Quaestionis</i> and Introduction to <i>Lumen Gentium</i></b>	 <b>11</b>
Introduction	12
 <b>Chapter 1. <i>Status Quaestionis</i></b>	 <b>13</b>
1.1 Hermeneutics of the Text	13
1.2 Hermeneutics of the Author: Redaction-Historical Approach	21
1.3 Hermeneutics of the Author: Theological-Historical Approach	24
1.4 Hermeneutics of the Receiver	26
Conclusion	31
 <b>Chapter 2. <i>Lumen Gentium</i>. An Introduction</b>	 <b>33</b>
2.1 <i>Lumen Gentium</i> 's Ecclesiology. The Church in Eight Parts	33
2.2 <i>Lumen Gentium</i> 's Redaction History. A Play in Six Acts	42
Act One – Towards Schema 1	42
Act Two – The First Period	44
Act Three – The First Intersession	48
Act Four – The Second Period	50
Act Five – The Second Intersession	52
Act Six – The Third Period	53
2.3 <i>Lumen Gentium</i> 's Theological-Historical Context	56
Conclusion	62
 <b>Chapter 3. The Holy Spirit According to <i>Lumen Gentium</i>. Close Reading</b>	 <b>65</b>
3.1 Methodological Introduction	65
3.2 Structural Analysis	71
3.2.1 Chapters and Articles	71
3.2.2 Main Clauses and Subclauses	73
Intermediary Conclusion	77
3.3 Theological Analysis	78
3.3.1 Activities	78
3.3.2 Addressees	86
3.3.3 Father, Son and Spirit	89
Intermediary Conclusion	92
3.4 Argumentative Analysis	93
Conclusion	98

<b>PART II. Pneumatological Renewal from a Redaction-Historical Perspective</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>Chapter 4. Methodological and Redaction-Historical Introduction</b>	<b>103</b>
4.1 The Holy Spirit in the Redaction History of <i>Lumen Gentium</i> . An Overview	104
4.2 Players Involved in Pneumatological Renewal	109
4.3 Motives for Pneumatological Renewal	113
<b>Chapter 5. A Case Study of <i>Lumen Gentium</i> 4</b>	<b>119</b>
5.1 Introduction. Text – Pneumatology – Context	119
5.2 The Introduction of <i>Lumen Gentium</i> 4 and Related Pneumatological Discussions	122
The First Period. Some Signs of a Trinitarian-Pneumatological Concern	122
The Holy Spirit in Alternative Schemas	124
Towards a Trinitarian Introduction	128
5.3 The Pneumatological Development of <i>Lumen Gentium</i> 4 as a Whole	132
From the <i>Schema Chilensis</i> to the February Philips Schema	132
From the February Philips Schema to the March Philips Schema	136
From the March Philips Schema to Schema 2	137
From Schema 2 to Schema 3	142
From Schema 3 to <i>Lumen Gentium</i>	151
Intermediary Conclusion	152
5.4 The Pneumatological Development of <i>Lumen Gentium</i> 4 per Sentence	153
Title. The Sanctifying Spirit	153
Sentence 1. The Mission of the Spirit, Pentecost, Sanctification and Access to the Father	155
Sentence 2. Source of Life and Resurrection	163
Sentence 3. Indwelling, Prayer and Adoptive Sonship	167
Sentence 4. Truth, Unity, Hierarchical and Charismatic Gifts, Spiritual Fruits	175
Sentence 5. Ecclesial Renewal towards Eschatological Unity with Christ	187
Sentence 6. “Come”	192
Sentence 7. Church, Unity, Trinity.	194
Intermediary Conclusion	197
Conclusion	199
<b>Chapter 6. A Case Study of <i>Lumen gentium</i> 48</b>	<b>201</b>
6.1 Introduction: Text – Pneumatology – Context	201
<i>Lumen Gentium</i> 48	203
Chapter Seven	204
The Holy Spirit in Chapter Seven	208
The Whole of <i>Lumen Gentium</i>	208
6.2 The Development of Chapter Seven	210
First Phase	211
Second Phase	214
Third Phase	216
Fourth Phase	218
Intermediary Conclusion	223

6.3 The Pneumatological Development of <i>Lumen Gentium</i> 48	223
<i>Lumen Gentium</i> 48-A	224
<i>Lumen Gentium</i> 48-B	226
<i>Lumen Gentium</i> 48-C	234
<i>Lumen Gentium</i> 48-D	236
Intermediary Conclusion	239
Conclusion	240
<b>Chapter 7. Pneumatological Renewal in <i>Lumen Gentium</i> from a Redaction-Historical Perspective</b>	<b>243</b>
<b>PART III. Pneumatological Renewal from a Theological-Historical Perspective</b>	<b>247</b>
<b>Chapter 8. Methodological and Theological-Historical Introduction</b>	<b>249</b>
8.1 Christocentrism	250
8.2 Spirit, Hierarchy and Charisms	251
8.3 Soul of the Church	255
8.4 Indwelling, Sanctification and Appropriation	256
<b>Chapter 9. The Holy Spirit According to <i>Mystici Corporis</i>. Close Reading</b>	<b>259</b>
9.1 Methodological Introduction	259
9.2 Structural Analysis	260
9.2.1 Parts, Chapters, and Articles	261
9.2.2 Main Clauses and Subclauses	264
Intermediary Conclusion	266
9.3 Theological Analysis	267
9.3.1 Activities	267
9.3.2 Addressees	275
9.3.3 Father, Son and Spirit	278
Intermediary Conclusion	282
9.4 Argumentative Analysis	282
Conclusion	286
<b>Chapter 10. Pneumatological Renewal in <i>Lumen Gentium</i> from a Theological-Historical Perspective</b>	<b>289</b>
<b>General Conclusions</b>	<b>295</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>305</b>

## Abbreviations

<i>AAS</i>	<i>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</i>
<i>ADA</i>	<i>Acta et documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II apparando; series prima (antepreparatoria)</i>
<i>ADP</i>	<i>Acta et documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II apparando; series secunda (praeparatoria)</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Acta synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II</i>
CSVII	Centre for the Study of the Second Vatican Council Maurits Sabbe Library Charles Deberiotstraat 26, 3000 Leuven, Belgium
DE	Schema (draft text) on the Church, <i>De Ecclesia</i>
LG	Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, <i>Lumen Gentium</i>
MC	Encyclical Letter on the Mystical Body of Christ, <i>Mystici Corporis</i>

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to start by expressing my thankfulness for upon concluding this thesis, I feel indebted to the ‘Giver of all that is good’ and to various people. I think of my parents, whom, as a child, I pained with my first theological questions, and of my family and friends, who supported me without knowing too much what I was doing. Further, my feelings of thankfulness include the Jesuits, where I have found my home; various teachers who inspired me as a student, especially Prof. Dr. Herwi Rikhof, who was my first theological mentor; and in more recent times all those with whom I had encouraging conversations and from whom I received practical help. Finally a special, most heartfelt word of thanks to my promoters, Dr. Karim Schelkens and Prof. Dr. Henk Witte, for initiating me in the academic world and for believing in my project and in me.





# General Introduction

The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) is often praised for its pneumatological renewal. In specifying their evaluation, scholars have tended to refer to topics such as charisms or the Spirit's working in other religions. Even though such a topical approach has various advantages, it has one substantial drawback: it leaves the fundamental question how the Council (re)imagined the Holy Spirit in general unanswered. It does not explore how the Spirit is conceived in relation to the Father and the Son, or what the Spirit's involvement in the Church looks like, but only states how the Spirit is related to a particular domain. For example, evaluating the the Council as "the beginning" of a pneumatological restoration, Yves Congar referred to various "living seeds that have yielded fruits", amongst which he listed "charisms, a theology of the local churches, a beginning of a reflection on ministries, what is said about *sensus fidei*, and the Spirit's action in history".<sup>1</sup> As such a list does not explore the Council's general pneumatological conception, it does not allow for drawing conclusions on pneumatological renewal in general. Therefore Congar overstated his case when, on the basis of his list, he concluded that different from Vatican I, Vatican II "has a vision that is formally trinitarian".<sup>2</sup> In this thesis I want to complement scholarship on the Council's pneumatological renewal by analysing in a general matter what that renewal consists of. Yet before making a start, I will relate this research project to the issue of *Geistvergessenheit*, explain what I mean with renewal, address some methodological issues, motivate the choice for *Lumen gentium*, and give an overview of the research design.

## *Geistvergessenheit*

Because of its focus on pneumatological renewal, this project evokes the issue of the *Geistvergessenheit* that the Western ecclesial and theological tradition have been accused of, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Y. Congar, "Actualité de la pneumatologie", S. Martins (ed.), *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. Atti del Congresso teologico internazionale di pneumatologia in occasione del 1600° anniversario del I Concilio di Costantinopoli e del 1550° anniversario del Concilio di Efeso. Roma, 22-26 marzo 1982*. (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), 15-28, 16. Council *peritus* Congar (1904-1995) played an important role at the Council. Consultor of the Preparatory Theological Commission, he served during the Council itself as an expert for the Doctrinal Commission as well as personal advisor to various Council fathers. He was involved in the development of several documents, including *Lumen gentium*. See Y. Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, 2 vols., ed. É. Mahieu (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2002). Cf. M. Quisinsky, "Congar, Yves", M. Quisinsky, P. Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. (Freiburg: Herder, 2013), 82-83.

<sup>2</sup> Congar, "Actualité de la pneumatologie", 16.

occasionally still are. That term firstly indicates a certain mindset with insufficient place for the metaphysical or transcendent reality. In the same way as philosophy has not really considered *das Sein*, in spite of all sorts of metaphysical and ontological explorations, theology has not really been open to the *Geist*, that is, the reality beyond what is verifiable. Even pneumatology may suffer from this weakness.<sup>3</sup> Yet *Geistvergessenheit* refers also to those cases in which ecclesiology, soteriology, and eschatology are understood from Christ rather than from the Spirit, so that ‘I believe in the Holy Spirit’ functions as no more than “an appendix” to ‘I believe in Jesus Christ’.<sup>4</sup> This second type of *Geistvergessenheit* manifests itself e.g. in summary formulas of the Christian faith with references to the Virgin Mary instead of the Holy Spirit.<sup>5</sup> More frequently, this type of oblivion manifested itself rather as a marginal pneumatology. For example, in the widely diffused and repeatedly updated manual *Katholische Dogmatik*, the German theologian Michael Schmaus spoke about the self-evidently christocentric nature of theology: “Ihre Theozentrik ist Christozentrik”.<sup>6</sup> As a consequence, pneumatological considerations, admittedly not absent from the reflection, feature only occasionally.<sup>7</sup> This resulted in various nicknames. Already in 1957, the Dutch Remonstrant theologian George Sirks wrote that “more than once the doctrine of the Spirit (pneumatology) has been called the Cinderella of

---

<sup>3</sup> The term was introduced by the German Lutheran theologian Otto Dilschneider as part of a Christological discussion, and was deliberately meant to echo Martin Heidegger’s *Seinsvergessenheit*. See O. Dilschneider, “Die Geistvergessenheit der Theologie. Epilog zur Diskussion über den historischen Jesus und kerygmatischen Christus”, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1961, 255-266, 260. For a similar view, see W. Kasper, “Die Kirche als Sakrament des Geistes”, W. Kasper, G. Sauter, *Kirche – Ort des Geistes* (Freiburg: Herder, 1976), 13-55, 21, cf. 21-24: “Es gibt das Phänomen der Geistvergessenheit nämlich nicht nur in Lehre und Praxis der Kirche, sonder ebenso in der Gesellschaft und in der modernen Wissenschaft, selbst in den sogenannten Geisteswissenschaften, zu denen die Theologie (...) gewöhnlich gerechnet wird. Die ganze Verlegenheit, in der sich diese Wissenschaften gegenwärtig befinden, wird deutlich, wenn man fragt: Geist, was ist das? Man gewinnt den Eindruck, daß die Säkularisierung des Geistverständnisses letztlich zu dessen Auflösung geführt hat”.

<sup>4</sup> Dilschneider, “Geistvergessenheit”, 261, “Hier aber wird die andere Seite der Geistvergessenheit der Theologie offenbar, die diese Lehrbereiche (viz., ecclesiology, soteriology and eschatology, JM) aus einer Konzeption des zweiten Artikels entwarf und in den dritten Artikel übertrug, wobei dann das «Credo in spiritum sanctum» gleichsam als ein Appendix hinzugefügt wurde”.

<sup>5</sup> For this and other examples, see Y. Congar, *Je crois en l’Esprit-Saint*, 3 vols. (Paris: Cerf, 1979-1980), vol. 1, 218-226, “oubli, suppléances et alibis du Saint Esprit”.

<sup>6</sup> M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, 6<sup>e</sup> ed., vol. 1 (München: Max Hueber Verlag, 1960), 33. Volumes one and two deal with God himself and God from the perspective of our salvation, the latter subdivided in 2.1 on God as creator and 2.2 on God as saviour. The next volumes deal with the Church and Christ’s permanence in the world (vol. 3.1 and 3.2), the sacraments and eschatology (vol. 4.1 and 4.2), and Mary (vol. 5).

<sup>7</sup> For example, the second volume on God the creator (2.1) and saviour (2.2) contains only two longer discussions of the Spirit’s role, namely in creation and in relationship to Christ’s sending of the Spirit at Pentecost. See M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 2.1 (München, Max Hueber Verlag, 1962), 63-65 and M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 2.2 (München, Max Hueber Verlag, 1963), 478-486. The third volume extensively discusses the pneumatological aspect of the Church in the ecclesiological volume 3.1, but only occasionally mentions the Spirit in the reflection on grace in volume 3.2, see M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 3.1 (München, Max Hueber Verlag, 1958), 329-391 and M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 3.2 (München, Max Hueber Verlag, 1965).

Theology” and that “she is waiting for Prince Theology to wed her”.<sup>8</sup> The French theologian René Laurentin observed that the Spirit was called the unknown God: “On l’a appelé «le Dieu *inconnu*»”, to which he added, “mais c’est plutôt *méconnu* qu’il faut dire”.<sup>9</sup>

Many scholars claim that since a few decades the second type of oblivion of the Holy Spirit is behind us, yet this may be too optimistic. In a recent introduction to the history of pneumatology, the French Jesuit Bernard Sesboué opened his chapter on “the person of the Spirit in recent theology” with the observation that, in response to the reproach of *Geistvergessenheit*, Western theology has acknowledged the significance of pneumatology so that “la considération de l’Esprit Saint est revenu au premier plan de la réflexion théologique en Occident”.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the Evangelical theologians Fount LeRon Shults and Andrea Hollingsworth opened their short history of pneumatology with the claim that “Christian theology is in the midst of an academic revival of interest in pneumatology (...). In the last few decades, reflection on the Spirit has come to the forefront of discussions within and across theological disciplines”.<sup>11</sup> However, in their recent, widely diffused handbook *Systematic Theology. Roman Catholic Perspectives*, the American theologians Francis Schüssler Fiorenza and John P. Galvin dedicated a whole chapter to Christ and the Trinity, but the Holy Spirit is rarely discussed for more than a few lines.<sup>12</sup>

Nonetheless, some scholars, including Congar, warn that in the effort to overcome *Geistvergessenheit*, the Spirit may be given too much importance. Fearing the risk of an unbalanced pneumatocentrism, they recall that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ and that the Spirit cannot be

---

<sup>8</sup> G.J. Sirks, “The Cinderella of Theology: The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit”, *The Harvard Theological Review* 50 (1957), 77-89, at 77 and 89. The German Roman-Catholic and Lutheran theologians Christian Schütz and Jürgen Moltmann open their respective pneumatologies with similar statements. See C. Schütz, *Einführung in die Pneumatologie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 1, “within the western theology, pneumatology led and leads the existence of a stepchild”. See J. Moltmann, *Der Geist des Lebens. Eine ganzheitliche Pneumatologie* (München, Kaiser Verlag, 1991), 1, “About twenty years ago it was usual to introduce studies on the Holy Spirit with a complaint about the «forgetfulness of the Spirit» (...). The Holy Spirit was said to be the Cinderella of Western theology” (translation taken from J. Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life. A Universal Affirmation*, trans. M. Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> R. Laurentin, *L’Esprit Saint, cet inconnu. Découvrir son expérience et sa personne* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 15. For earlier testimonies, see M. Landrieux, *Le divin Méconnu* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1921); E.H. Palmer, *The Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids (MI): Baker Books, 1958), 11.

<sup>10</sup> B. Sesboué, *L’Esprit sans visage et sans voix. Brève histoire de la théologie du Saint-Esprit* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2009), 77, cf. “Le reproche classique adressé par l’Orient à l’Occident, d’oublier le Saint-Esprit, a fait profondément réagir ce dernier”, 77.

<sup>11</sup> F. LeRon Shults, A. Hollingsworth, *The Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 1. Cf. the (incomplete) literature overview A. Moda, *Lo Spirito Santo. Alcune piste di riflessione nella teologia sistematica cattolica a partire dal Vaticano II* (Torino: Claudiana, 2012) and the recent reflection on the topic (from a Protestant perspective), C. Danz, M. Murrmann-Kahl (eds.), *Zwischen Geistvergessenheit und Geistversessenheit. Perspektiven der Pneumatologie im 21. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> F. Schüssler Fiorenza, J.P. Galvin (eds.), *Systematic Theology. Roman Catholic Perspectives*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011).

separated from the gospel and the Church. That concern, which in itself makes theological sense, seems in fact far-fetched and theoretical, as only a very small number of serious theological studies actually tend to a monistic, Spirit-centered theology. Moreover, it continues to confuse me that a similar concern is often absent in the case of Spirit-oblivious, Christ-focused theology. In his old age Congar summarized what he retained from his work in pneumatology as follows: “no Christology without pneumatology, *no pneumatology without Christology*”.<sup>13</sup> He stressed the latter, yet the former forms as much a danger as the latter.

However, *Geistvergessenheit* is the context, not the topic of this study. The objective of the current work is not to specify what amount of attention to the Spirit would be appropriate, or to spell out an alternative, better pneumatology, but to make an in-depth exploration of the conciliar pneumatological renewal. Such an exploration not only allows to specify to what extent the accusation of *Geistvergessenheit* held true in the case of the Council, it will also show what has been done to overcome it, and it may suggest what remains to be done. The brief exploration of the concept of *Geistvergessenheit* supports me in the conviction that such an exploration is relevant and reveals what is at stake: restoring the pneumatological balance by giving more attention and more weight to the Holy Spirit. The current study makes a small contribution to such a restoration.

## **Renewal: Terminological and Methodological Considerations**

So far I have spoken of renewal, but that is not the only word scholars use to indicate what happened at the Council; they also speak of entering a new phase, (re)discovery, new departure, a beginning of a restoration, and especially development or reform. According to the American Jesuit and church historian John O'Malley, these words and others function in fact largely as synonyms, for they all “express the same idea of a change for the better” and they all point to a deliberate effort to improve.<sup>14</sup> While I do adopt O'Malley's notion of a deliberate effort to improve, in my work I prefer the term renewal. That preference corresponds not only to the preference of the Council itself,<sup>15</sup> it also has the

---

<sup>13</sup> Y. Congar, *La parole et le souffle. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de la relecture de Rémi Chéno* (Paris: Mame-Desclée, 2010), 1; originally published in 1984, the year Congar turned eighty. The full text of the opening line of the book reads, “Combien de fois l'ai-je dit: Si je n'avais qu'une conclusion à retenir de mes études sur le Saint-Esprit, je la formulerais ainsi: Pas de christologie sans pneumatologie, *pas de pneumatologie sans christologie*”.

<sup>14</sup> See J. O'Malley, “«The Hermeneutic of Reform»: a Historical Analysis”, *Theological Studies* 73 (2012), 517-546, 518, “although the synonyms, quasi-synonyms, and euphemisms for reform have slightly different nuances, they express the same idea of a change for the better. (...) I refer to words such as *renewal, renovation, restoration, revival, rebirth* and *renaissance*. (...) *Reform* remains the most basic and most frequently invoked in almost every sphere of human activity to indicate deliberate efforts undertaken within an institution to improve the status quo”, cf. 518-522.

<sup>15</sup> The Belgian scholar Peter De Mey showed that the Council itself used the word “renew” more than “reform”, see P. De Mey, “Church Renewal and Reform in the Documents of Vatican II. History, Theology, Terminology”, *The Jurist* 71 (2011), 369-400.

advantage that it does not imply a moral evaluation of what went before as wrong, as reform seems to do. In addition, reform has institutional connotations, while pneumatology is not directly linked to reform in an institutional sense. Finally, the term development is less suited because it does not suppose a deliberate intention to bring about change for the better.<sup>16</sup>

However the term renewal is not uncontroversial because, with its connotation of change, it touches on the fiercely debated issue of the Council's presumed (dis)continuity. In interpreting the Council, some scholars and faithful are especially struck by what has changed while others focus on continuity; similarly some prefer the spirit of the text and others the letter of the text. In 2005, Pope Benedict XVI advocated a middle road with his (short) plea for a "hermeneutic of reform". He specified that one should interpret the Council as representing "renewal within the continuity of the one subject, the Church, which the Lord has given to us"; there is "innovation in continuity".<sup>17</sup> Benedict XVI may have made his comment without much elaboration and in the not so official context of the Christmas address to the Curia, his comment was widely received and had a positive impact because, in the words of O'Malley, Pope Benedict "stepped away from the sharp dichotomy of rupture/continuity that he had earlier insisted upon".<sup>18</sup> All the same Benedict XVI's remarks have far from solved the issue.<sup>19</sup> What to make of this debate? How to study renewal amidst the controversy?

Without entering into an in-depth discussion of the theological presuppositions at work, I would like to offer some methodological considerations. In the first place, the starting point of any theological exploration of the Council should be the letter of the text. After all, what was voted on and solemnly promulgated were the Council's sixteen Constitutions, Decrees and Declarations, not the

---

<sup>16</sup> Cf. O'Malley's description of development: "changes that come about in a gradual fashion without deliberate decision making to effect the final result", O'Malley, "«The Hermeneutic of Reform»", 517, cf. 518.

<sup>17</sup> Benedict XVI, "Christmas Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Roman Curia", 22 December 2005, online at [http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf\\_ben\\_xvi\\_spe\\_20051222\\_roman-curia.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia.html). Cf. the extensive critical commentary, J.A. Komonchak, "Novelty in continuity. Pope Benedict's interpretation of Vatican II", *Cristianesimo nella storia* 28 (2007), 232-337.

<sup>18</sup> O'Malley, "«The Hermeneutic of Reform»", 542. For Ratzinger's earlier views, see V. Messori, *The Ratzinger Report. An Exclusive Interview on the State of the Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985) (originally in Italian), especially chapter 2, "A Council to be Rediscovered", 27-44, where one reads amongst others that "This schematism of a *before* and *after* in the history of the Church, wholly unjustified by the documents of Vatican II, which do nothing but reaffirm the continuity of Catholicism, must be decidedly opposed. There is no «pre-» or «post-» conciliar Church", 35.

<sup>19</sup> For some introductions into the discussion, see in historical order: J. O'Malley, "Did Anything Happen at Vatican II?", *Theological Studies* 67 (2006), 3-33; G. Routhier, "L'assemblée extraordinaire de 1985 du synode des évêques: moment charnière de relecture de Vatican II dans l'Église catholique", Ph. Bordeyne, L. Villemin (eds.), *Vatican II et la théologie. Perspectives pour le xxe siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2006), 61-88; N. Ormerod, "Vatican II – Continuity or Discontinuity? Toward an Ontology of Meaning", *Theological Studies* 71 (2010), 609-636; M. Faggioli, *Vatican II. The Battle for Meaning* (New York: Paulist Press, 2012); K. Schelkens, "Van dualisme naar veelheid. Pleidooi voor een katholieke lezing van het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie", *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 42 (2012), 381-401; G. D'Costa, *Vatican II. Catholic Doctrines on Jews and Muslims* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), esp. 1-58.

spirit of the Council and the Council proceedings. Textual explorations should be based on a detailed reading of the Council, to avoid sweeping statements that are unwarranted by the text. For example, the Greek-Orthodox scholar Nikos Nissiotis, known for his strong critique of the institutional focus of *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology, denounced especially its "very weak theology of the Holy Spirit",<sup>20</sup> but that assessment cannot be claimed to reflect the Council text. In this thesis, I hope to avoid the pitfall of this sort of sweeping statements by analysing the conciliar texts in a precise manner, with an eye for the details of the text, as will be explained further in the methodological introduction to chapter three.

Yet secondly, theological hermeneutics cannot do without history and the spirit of the text. For example, to find out how the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church *Lumen gentium* conceives the place of the hierarchy within the Church, it is very helpful to know the text's redaction-historical background. While synchronic reading reveals that the hierarchy is discussed in chapter three after the Church has first been described as the faithful gathered together into the Church in chapter two, only a diachronic reading can confirm that this structure was intentional. It would point out that the first schema or draft text, which spoke about the hierarchy in four of its eleven chapters and stressed obedience, was unfavourably received by the Council fathers. In answer to that critique, the reflection on the hierarchy was reframed in the context of the Church as mystery and the community of the faithful, the people of God on pilgrimage. Thus historical research, by uncovering the spirit of the text, contributes to correctly explaining the letter of the text.<sup>21</sup>

This example points to the significance of hermeneutical complementarity. As the Australian theologian Ormond Rush argued in his methodological overview work *Still Interpreting Vatican II*.

---

<sup>20</sup> N. Nissiotis, "The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council, and the Position of the Non-Roman Catholic Facing It", *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 2 (1965), 31-62, cf. "the profound reasons for the Orthodox criticism of this type of ecclesiology arise from the fact that this schema betrays a very weak theology of the Holy Spirit. (...) Without a pneumatological basis, church life and its ecclesiology loses its openness and flexibility, and the unity of the Church is seen only as a matter of discipline and obedience of the less important «categories of the People of God» to the superior ones", 48-49, elaborated 48-51. He claimed that when the Church is not fundamentally conceived from the Holy Spirit, ecclesiology will necessarily become a matter of hierarchy, structure and obedience. Nissiotis (1924-1986) was present at the Council on behalf of the World Council of Churches, from the second Period onwards in the official role of observer. See M. Quisinsky, "Nissiotis, Nikos", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 199-200; cf. M. Begzos, "Nissiotis, Nikos", J. Ernesti, W. Thönissen (eds.), *Personenlexikon Ökumene* (Freiburg: Herder, 2010), 162-163.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. O'Malley's criticism of the norms for interpretation laid down in the documents of the 1985 Special Synod of Bishops, "What is missing in the otherwise excellent norms provided by the synod of 1985 is one that would read somewhat as follows: «While always keeping in mind the fundamental continuity in the great tradition of the Church, interpreters must also take due account of how the council is discontinuous with previous practices, teachings, and traditions, indeed, discontinuous with previous councils». Without such a norm, the emphasis is exclusively on continuity. To thus insist is to blind oneself to discontinuities, which is to blind oneself to change of any kind. And if there is no change, nothing happened", in O'Malley, "Did Anything Happen at Vatican II?", 7, cf. 32. O'Malley made the remark for the first time in a piece which also contains a summary of the official norms: J. O'Malley, "Vatican II: Official Norms. With a Response to Cardinal Avery Dulles", *America Magazine* (31 March 2003), 11-14. For these norms, see "The Final Report: Synod of Bishops", *Origins* 15 (1985), 444-450, 445-446.

*Some Hermeneutical Principles*, conciliar hermeneutics should take into account not only the text but also its author and receiver, that is, its context.<sup>22</sup> What Rush calls “the hermeneutics of the author” focuses on the mind or spirit of the Council by reconstructing the meaning of the text in its historical context.<sup>23</sup> In fact, within this type of hermeneutics one may further distinguish redaction-historical and theological context at large, the former focusing on the narrower level of redaction history, the latter addressing history in a broader meaning. According to Rush, a hermeneutics of the author should be complemented by a hermeneutics of the text, which focuses on style, structure, intratextuality, and intertextuality. Hermeneutics should also take into account the receiver, who appropriates the text in his or her own time and context, and thereby interprets the text.

These distinctions have an added significance for this research project as they imply that renewal has three different manifestations. Renewal points to the difference between earlier and later drafts; this is renewal in a redaction-historical perspective. Renewal also refers to the difference with earlier views from preconciliar times; this is renewal in a theological-historical perspective. Thirdly, renewal has to do with what changed after the Council; this is renewal from the perspective of reception.

Finally, the dilemma between change and continuity should be softened by using more subtle categories. Here Pope Benedict XVI’s term of “reform in continuity” is particularly useful, together with some further nuances to that term by the American theologian Joseph A. Komonchak. Claiming that the discussion is often confused, Komonchak proposed to distinguish between three types of renewal, dogmatic, theological, and historical-sociological. Komonchak explained that while the dogmatic perspective is marked by continuity, the latter ones feature both discontinuity and continuity.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, (dis)continuity is not the only issue in relation to conciliar hermeneutics. In an overview article on Council hermeneutics, Rush highlighted five other dilemmas: the event of the Council or its documents, its pastoral or its doctrinal nature, dialogue or proclamation, *ressourcement*

---

<sup>22</sup> O. Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II. Some Hermeneutical Principles* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004). Cf. his own follow up article, O. Rush, “Towards a Comprehensive Interpretation of the Council and its Documents”, *Theological Studies* 73 (2012), 547-569. For a critical response, see P. Hünemann, “The Ignored «Text». On the Hermeneutics of the Second Vatican Council”, *Concilium. International Journal of Theology* 2005/4, 118-136. Cf. also J. O’Malley, “Misdirections: Ten Sure-Fire Ways to Mix Up the Teachings of Vatican II”, *America Magazine* (4 February 2013), 25-27.

<sup>23</sup> Rush, *Vatican II*, 1, cf. 1-2, “A hermeneutics of the author attempts to reconstruct the intention of the author or authors of a text. (...) Reconstruction of this authorial intention constitutes a reconstruction of the so-called «mind» or «spirit» of the Council”. Interestingly, the official 1985 norms hinted at this type of complementarity when they warned against separating the letter and the spirit in the interpretation of the Council.

<sup>24</sup> Komonchak, “Novelty in continuity”, 335-336. For another, continuity-focused interpretation, see G. D’Costa, *Vatican II*, 1-58. D’Costa develops the notion of theological continuity by distinguishing five levels in doctrinal teaching, ranging from *de fide* as highest and *sententia probabilis* as lowest, and explains that discontinuity is only possible on the lower levels. Thereby the doctrinal principles remain identical, while their translation into concrete situations may differ from one time or context to another. For a critical contextual evaluation, see H. Witte, *De ignatiaanse ‘manier van doen’ als inspiratie bij het verstaan van Vaticanum II* (Tilburg: Tilburg University, 2016), 9-10.



or *aggiornamento*, and the Council's vision or its reception. According to Rush, in all cases, steering a middle course is advisable.<sup>25</sup>

## *Lumen Gentium*

In my research I focus on one document, *Lumen gentium*. For a start, with its two hundred and sixty references to the Spirit,<sup>26</sup> the whole *corpus* of conciliar documents is too large for a thorough, both general and precise pneumatological analysis. Moreover if I were to focus on one or several of the novel statements on the Spirit working before the Christian era (*Ad gentes*, 4), the Spirit working in non Roman-Catholic Christians (*Lumen gentium*, 15) and in the ecumenical movement (*Unitatis redintegratio*, 1), or the Spirit working in each human being, in history and in the world (*Gaudium et spes*, 22 and 26), this work would become a topical, not general exploration of pneumatological renewal. Therefore, the wish to explore pneumatological renewal in a manner that is both general and precise is best served by selecting one document.

The reason *Lumen gentium* qualifies for exploring renewal includes the substantial number of Spirit references. With its ninety references to the Spirit in sixty-nine articles, *Lumen gentium* contains more Spirit-references than the other three constitutions together and by far outnumbers the other conciliar documents. The Constitution on the liturgy *Sacrosanctum concilium* contains five references to the Spirit, the Dogmatic Constitution on revelation *Dei Verbum* contains twenty-four references to the Spirit, and the Pastoral constitution on the Church in the world *Gaudium et spes* contains thirty-three references to the Spirit. In addition, *Lumen gentium* can be linked with a preconciliar tradition of ecclesiological church documents, e.g. Leo XIII's reflection on the Church from the late nineteenth century and Pius XII's 1943 encyclical on the Church. This makes *Lumen gentium* particularly fit for exploring pneumatological renewal in a historical theological perspective. The other constitutions are less promising in this regard. In the case of *Gaudium et spes* it is difficult to make such a comparison because it was radically new to consider "the place of the Church in the modern world", as the document's title reads. The document on the liturgy *Sacrosanctum concilium* is less fit because the Spirit is mentioned only five times.<sup>27</sup> *Dei verbum* too would have been a possibility, for it has a

---

<sup>25</sup> Rush, "Towards a Comprehensive Interpretation of the Council".

<sup>26</sup> In the documents of Vatican II the Spirit is referred to some two hundred and sixty times. Yves Congar speaks of two hundred and fifty-eight references, Congar, *Je crois en l'Esprit-Saint*, vol. 1, 228. Yet according to Anne Marie Aagaard, the total number of references to the Holy Spirit in the Council is two hundred and seventy-nine. See her article A.M. Aagaard, "Helligånden i Koncildokumenterne. Et Arbejdsmateriale", *Lumen, katolsk teologisk tidsskrift*, 15/43 (1972), 54-76, 56. The reason for Aagaard's higher number lies mainly in the fact that she includes the reference to the Spirit in each document's concluding formula.

<sup>27</sup> The references to the Spirit are in *Sacrosanctum concilium* no. 2, 5, 6 (2x), 43. Franziskus Eisenbach argues in his PhD thesis that only one of these relates to liturgy: "Dies (the reference at the end of no. 6 – JM) ist die einzige Stelle in der Konstitution, wo eine liturgietheologisch relevante pneumatologische Aussage ausdrücklich gemacht wird", F. Eisenbach,

promising number of Spirit-references and these references deal with fundamental theological topics such as revelation, Scripture, tradition and truth. In addition, *Dei verbum* would also allow for historical comparison, although a comparison is less straightforward as e.g. Pius XII's preconciliar encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* is concerned with biblical interpretation rather than revelation.

Admittedly, the ecclesiological nature of *Lumen gentium* raises an important preliminary question: is it possible to explore the pneumatology of a document that is not about the Holy Spirit, but about the Church? In my view, the document's ecclesiological nature is as much an opportunity as it may be a problem. Obviously, one needs to acknowledge sufficiently the ecclesiological nature of the document. Yet once that condition is fulfilled, it is precisely because the document has mainly ecclesiological intentions that it allows to encounter the at the time natural or spontaneous view of the Holy Spirit.

## Research Design

The wealth of material has led me to limiting myself to redaction-historical and theological-historical renewal. (The word pair 'theological-historical' is designed in parallel with the word pair 'redaction-historical' and should be understood as referring to the history of theology, not the theology of history.<sup>28</sup>) Therefore, the heart of my research project is to explore the following question: what does the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* consist of from a redaction-historical and theological-historical perspective, and what is its significance, especially in the context of the Latin Church's alleged *Geistvergersenheit*? In the light of the considerations on renewal above, I will search for deliberate change for the better, in a manner that is both general and precise, presupposing in this undertaking what Komonchak called dogmatic continuity and focusing on *Lumen gentium*.

The first part opens with a survey of the existing scholarly work regarding *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology that substantiates the claim that the current work complements the existing body of literature (chapter one). The next chapter introduces *Lumen gentium*'s view of the Church (chapter two), as *Lumen gentium* is not a pneumatological but an ecclesiological document. Following Rush in distinguishing various complementary hermeneutical approaches, I elaborate the content of the text, its redaction history and its theological-historical context.<sup>29</sup> Finally, because the (relative) methodological priority of the text demands exploring *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology before exploring its history,

---

*Die Gegenwart Jesu Christi im Gottesdienst: Systematische Studien zur Liturgiekonstitution des II. Vatikanischen Konzils* (Mainz: Grünewald, 1982), 335. Remarkable is the absence of a capital in the phrase *spiritus adoptionis filiorum* (no. 6), for the Scripture reference there, Rom 8:15, is commonly interpreted pneumatologically.

<sup>28</sup> I owe Professor De Mey for pointing out the possible misunderstanding in this regard.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. H. Witte, "De hermeneutiek van Vaticanum II en *Lumen gentium*", *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 44 (2014), 381-400.

chapter three investigates *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology. Having a solid grasp of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology also has the advantage of enabling a more focused exploration of its renewal.

The second and third part explore pneumatological renewal. In the light of the preference for the text itself, I start the exploration of renewal as closely to the text as possible, that is, with the text's redaction history, after which I draw the circle wider and continue with renewal in theological-historical perspective. That means that the second part focuses on the pneumatological renewal during the Council itself. The minutes of the Council, the *Acta synodalia (AS)*<sup>30</sup> and the archives kept at the Centre for the Study of the Second Vatican Council (CSVII) at KU Leuven offer valuable help to answer the question how the Council developed its view of the Holy Spirit. Other archives could have been consulted, but for practical reasons I have limit myself to the CSVII, which contains the material of Gerard Philips, vice-secretary to the Doctrinal Commission at Vatican II and the text's main editor.

In carrying out this exploration I limit myself to two articles, *Lumen gentium* 4 and 48. Because of the complex nature of *Lumen gentium*'s redaction history and the large amount of the material, an exploration of all articles would have remained perfunctory; an in-depth investigation seems more profitable yet this is only possible by working with case-studies. *Lumen gentium* 4 dwells on the Holy Spirit as part of the trinitarian introduction to the Church in LG 2-4, and *Lumen gentium* 48 refers several times to the Holy Spirit in the context of a theological introduction to ecclesial eschatology and the Church's relation with the Church in heaven. After a methodological and redaction-historical introduction (chapter four), the next chapters explore these two articles (chapter five and chapter six). A final chapter concludes what the redaction-historical pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* consists of in the light of the results of these chapters (chapter seven).

In the third part I explore *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatological renewal from a theological-historical perspective. The material for comparison will be Pius XII's ecclesiological encyclical *Mystici corporis*, that is generally considered to be the major magisterial ecclesiological text from the preconciliar era. After an introduction in which the preconciliar pneumatological landscape is sketched (chapter eight) I delve into the details of the pneumatology in *Mystici corporis* (chapter nine). A final chapter compares *Lumen gentium* and *Mystici corporis* and draws conclusions on the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* from a theological-historical perspective (chapter ten).

The thesis ends with general conclusions in which I will evaluate my findings and the complementarity of the two types of research. In what respect does and does *Lumen gentium* not contribute to overcoming *Geistvergesenheit*, and what would be needed to progress further? Arguably *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology represents a modest yet promising step forward.

---

<sup>30</sup> *Acta synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II* (Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970-1999), abbreviated as *AS*.

PART I

*STATUS QUAESTIONIS* AND INTRODUCTION TO  
*LUMEN GENTIUM*

## Introduction

In this first part, I will prepare the ground for the exploration of the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* in parts II and III. The first chapter familiarizes the reader with the existing body of literature. This not only gives an introduction to the field, but also shows in what way my research means to complement it. The second and third chapters deal with two other preliminary issues. Before delving into pneumatology and pneumatological renewal, I first need to discuss the context in which that renewal takes place, namely a dogmatic constitution on the Church. How does *Lumen gentium* conceive the Church? I will analyse *Lumen gentium*'s view of the Church on the basis of the text, its redaction history and its theological-historical context. Thereby, the chapter also introduces the reader to the three hermeneutical perspectives that were discussed in the Introduction and that will determine the analysis of pneumatological renewal in the later chapters. The third chapter brings us still closer to the topic of pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* by introducing *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology. For before we may enquire what is new in *Lumen gentium*'s conception of the Spirit, we need to know not only how *Lumen gentium* conceives the Spirit. In the light of what I perceive as the need for in-depth analysis, I will study various textual details.

# Chapter 1

## *Status Quaestionis*

Both to substantiate my claim that there is a shortage of fundamental and detailed explorations of the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* and to prepare for my own exploration I provide in this chapter a *status quaestionis*. How have scholars explored the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium*? To structure the material, I use Rush's distinction between hermeneutics of the author, hermeneutics of the text, and hermeneutics of the receiver that was introduced in the General Introduction. Yet as studies in conciliar theology usually distinguish between redaction history and historical theological context, I will within the category of hermeneutics of the author distinguish these two and treat them separately. Moreover, in view of the methodological priority of the text that I discussed in the General Introduction, I will not follow Rush's historical order, but start rather with the text (chapter 1.1) and work from there on in widening circles. After dealing with redaction-historical investigations into the pneumatology in *Lumen gentium* (chapter 1.2) I turn to theological-historical considerations (chapter 1.3), to conclude with reception (chapter 1.4).

Admittedly, the distinctions between the various hermeneutics are somewhat artificial. Most authors combine various approaches, and rightly so, for one cannot read the text without paying attention to its redaction history and vice versa. Even logic commands a comprehensive approach, for it is impossible to situate the Council's pneumatology in its redaction-historical or theological-historical context without discussing the text itself. It is particularly troublesome to separate presenting the Council's pneumatology and critically assessing it, as the former is impossible without the latter; moreover, in practise, authors often mix these. Nonetheless, the distinction seems useful as a heuristic tool to structure the material.

### **1.1 Hermeneutics of the Text**

Although it is obvious that the hermeneutics of the text focuses on the text, in the light of the observation that any text is a multi-dimensional reality it is less obvious what exactly that means and how that works. After all, a text is made up of aspects such as its genre and style, links within the text itself and with other texts, and so on. A given, text-focused interpretation may take into account, consciously or unconsciously, one or various of these aspects. In this section I will explore who have ventured a text-focused reading of the conciliar pneumatology, how these authors analysed the text, what they focused on, and what they found. As it is impossible to extensively review each work, the objective is rather to give an impression of the available material.

Heribert Mühlen was one of the first to take up the topic of the conciliar pneumatology. In 1966, he issued a second edition of his ecclesiology *Una mystica persona*, the follow-up of his pneumatology *Der heilige Geist als Person*. In comparison with the first edition, he had added an extensive reflection on the conciliar ecclesiology and pneumatology.<sup>31</sup> Focusing on *Grundlinien* instead of offering a running commentary, he was struck by the similarities between his own ecclesiology and the Council's, especially the analogy between the Church and the incarnation, the shared view of the Holy Spirit as "one person (the Holy Spirit) in many persons (in Christ and in us)" – the subtitle of the book – and the notion of the Church as sacrament.<sup>32</sup> Arguably, the overlap between his own work and the Council suggests his interpretation was in fact guided by his own ecclesiological and pneumatological views.<sup>33</sup>

In the commentary *The Church of Vatican II* the Brazilian Franciscan Guilherme Baraúna edited, he opted for theologically elucidating key themes rather than offering a running commentary.<sup>34</sup> Forty four themes were explored, two of which related to pneumatology. The French Dominican Michel Philipon discussed the trinitarian nature of the Church,<sup>35</sup> and in another chapter, the German Scripture scholar Heinz Schürmann clarified the roots of *Lumen gentium*'s view on charisms.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> See H. Mühlen, *Una mystica Persona. Die Kirche als das Mysterium der heilsgeschichtlichen Identität des heiligen Geistes in Christus und den Christen: eine Person in vielen Personen*, 2nd ed. (München: Schöningh, 1966), chapter IV, "Die Aussagen des Vaticanum II über den Geist Christi als «unus et idem in capite et in membris existens»: Eine Person in den vielen Personen", 359-598. The chapter is new in comparison to the first edition, which dated from 1964. A year before, Mühlen had issued *Der Heilige Geist als Person. Beitrag zur Frage nach der dem heiligen Geiste eigentümlichen Funktion in der Trinität, bei der Inkarnation und im Gnadenbund* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1963); the title was slightly modified in later editions. According to Mühlen, the two books belong together: "Beide Arbeiten sind aus einem einzigen, ursprünglichen Gesamtentwurf entstanden und bilden eine innere und äußere Einheit", Mühlen, *Una mystica Persona*, x.

<sup>32</sup> Mühlen, *Una mystica Persona*, vii-ix, elaborated in the introductory sections of chapter IV, 360-365.

<sup>33</sup> This he himself denied, cf. the opening sentences of chapter VI: "Dies (to include the conciliar pneumatological reflection as chapter IV, JM) is umso eher möglich, als die Grundpositionen des bisher Gesagten mit denen des Konzils weitgehend übereinstimmen". He continued, "Keineswegs soll versucht werden, unsere eigenen Auffassungen in den Aussagen des Konzils wiederzufinden. Bei der möglichst getreuen Wiedergabe dieser Aussagen wird sich aber zeigen, daß das bisher Gesagte (viz. chapters I-III, JM) in gewisser Weise als ein Kommentar zu den konziliaren Aussagen gelten kann", Mühlen, *Una mystica Persona*, 359, cf. vii.

<sup>34</sup> The objective was "to give a panorama of the major themes, ideas and teachings of the Constitution", not by means of "a commentary in the strict sense of the word", but by treating key themes. G. Baraúna (ed.), *De Kerk van Vaticanum II. Commentaren op de concilieconstitutie over de kerk*, 2 vols. (Bilthoven: Nelissen, 1966), 8-9 (preface). The Portuguese original *A Igreja do Vaticano II* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Vozes, 1965) was also translated in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish. Baraúna had been involved in the Council as expert for the Brazilian bishops and as Council *peritus* (third and fourth period).

<sup>35</sup> M. Philipon, "De allerheiligste Drieëenheid en de Kerk", Baraúna (ed.), *De Kerk van Vaticanum II*, vol. 1, 301-323. Philipon (1898-1972), a Council *peritus* from the Second Period onwards, had written amongst others an often reprinted book on the spiritual doctrine of Elisabeth of the Trinity.

<sup>36</sup> H. Schürmann, "De geestelijke genadegaven", Baraúna (ed.), *De Kerk van Vaticanum II*, vol. 1, 579-604. Schürmann (1913-1999), a priest of the diocese of Paderborn (Germany), was a Scripture scholar and Council *peritus* during the Fourth

Philipon illustrated his argument with references not only from *Lumen gentium* but also from Scripture and the Church Fathers, and Schürmann's contribution is a scriptural exploration of charisms rather than an analysis of *Lumen gentium*'s statements. Thus, in keeping with Baraúna's intention, both authors commented on issues related to *Lumen gentium* rather than on the text itself.

Different from the works presented so far, the 1966 special edition of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, directed by the German theologian Herbert Vorgrimler, wanted to stay close to the text. Aiming to be a "scientific commentary", it was "designed after the example of exegetical commentaries", with introductions, discussion of the structure of the text, explanation of the text, and excursions.<sup>37</sup> Each article was briefly commented on, with some attention to the Holy Spirit. In a few instances, the Spirit's place in the text was highlighted. Commenting on LG 4, the German Jesuit Alois Grillmeier called Pentecost "the second Church-building event".<sup>38</sup> In relation to LG 8 Grillmeier explored the Spirit's working in the Church in the context of the Church's double, visible and invisible nature,<sup>39</sup> and commenting on LG 12, Grillmeier elaborated the Spirit's working in the Church through charisms.<sup>40</sup> More often, commentators were relatively silent on the Spirit. That is true both for Grillmeier in his commentary on the Church as mystical body of Christ in LG 7 and on the *sensus fidelium* in LG 12 and for Ferdinand Klostermann in his commentary of LG 34, which focused on the sharing in Christ's priesthood and the consecrating of the world.<sup>41</sup>

---

Period, see J. Ernst, "Schürmann, Heinz", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 247-248.

<sup>37</sup> See the first lines of the introduction: "Er (the commentary) wurde geplant nach dem Vorbild exegetischer Kommentare, also mit Einleitungen, mit der Zuordnung der Texte und deren fortlaufender Erklärung mit Exkursen". H. Vorgrimler, "Zur Einführung", H. Vorgrimler (ed.), *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil. Konstitutionen, Dekrete und Erklärungen. Lateinisch und Deutsch. Kommentare*, 3 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1966-1968), vol. 1, 7. Vorgrimler (1929-2014), a priest of the diocese of Freiburg, was at the time of the Council Karl Rahner's collaborator.

<sup>38</sup> A. Grillmeier, "Erstes Kapitel. Kommentar", Vorgrimler (ed.), *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 156-175, 160, "Das zweite kirchenbildende Ereignis ist das Pfingstfest" (the first one is Christ's death, discussed in LG 3). Grillmeier (1910-1998) was a German Jesuit who served as theological advisor of the German Bishop Wilhelm Kempf. A Council *peritus* from the Second Period onwards, he was also as a member of the Doctrinal Commission. Grillmeier was the main editor of the German alternative draft on the Church and closely involved in the redaction of *Lumen gentium*. See Th. Hainthaller, "Grillmeier, Alois", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 121-122.

<sup>39</sup> Grillmeier, "Erstes Kapitel. Kommentar", 172-175.

<sup>40</sup> A. Grillmeier, "Zweites Kapitel. Kommentar", Vorgrimler (ed.), *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 176-210, 190.

<sup>41</sup> Grillmeier, "Erstes Kapitel. Kommentar", 166-170, 189; F. Klostermann, "Viertes Kapitel. Kommentar", Vorgrimler (ed.), *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 260-287, 272-273. Klostermann (1907-1982), a priest of the diocese of Linz (Austria) and a pastoral theologian, was the personal advisor for Cardinal Franz König and a Council *peritus*. As a member of the Pontifical Commission for Lay Apostolate, he was involved in preparing the document on the laity and a member of the mixed commission on *Lumen gentium*'s chapter four. See M. Quisinsky, "Klostermann, Ferdinand", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 153-154.



Gerard Philips issued shortly after the Council a commentary with an intention similar to Vorgrimmler's.<sup>42</sup> Unhappy with Baraúna's free approach, he wished his commentary on *Lumen gentium* to offer "pure exegesis, without personal additions", on the basis of the "approved text".<sup>43</sup> In spite of this intention, there is no further methodological account on what that means. In his commentary, Philips explained at length the meaning of each article, at times referring to biblical and theological background information. Occasionally he highlighted pneumatological topics, such as the trinitarian understanding of the Church, *sensus fidei* and charisms.<sup>44</sup>

Various other authors explored the conciliar pneumatology by means of short overviews of important aspects. In his 1968 article on "the Holy Spirit in the texts of Vatican II", the French Sulpician Henri Cazelles constructed in twenty pages an overview of the conciliar pneumatology.<sup>45</sup> For although Cazelles admitted that "these texts do not perhaps give a theological synthesis on the Holy Spirit", he claimed nonetheless that "we will see that some paragraphs are real short-hand summaries (*de véritables synthèses en raccourci*) and that one can already outline a *synthèse d'ensemble*". In order to do so, Cazelles introduced a framework of six aspects: the history of humanity, salvation history, the people of God, the Church, revelation, and the Trinity.<sup>46</sup> Around the same time, in a somewhat similar manner, the bishop of Namur (Belgium) and member of the

---

<sup>42</sup> G. Philips, *L'église et son mystère au IIe Concile du Vatican. Histoire, texte et commentaire de la Constitution sur l'Église*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer 1967-1968). Published simultaneously in Dutch. Philips (1899-1972), a priest from the diocese Liège (Belgium), theology professor, member of the Belgian Senate and Council *peritus*, played a major role at the Council. Having been a member of the Preparatory Theological Commission, he was asked in february 1963 to coordinate the elaboration of the new draft on the Church and thus became the main editor of *Lumen gentium*. In addition, in December 1963 he was elected second secretary of the Doctrinal Commission after Sebastiaan Tromp; in fact, Philips took over Tromp's role. See J. Grootaers, "Le rôle de Mgr G. Philips à Vatican II. Quelques réflexions pour contribuer à l'étude du dernier Concile", A. Gesché, P. Schruers, J. Coppens (eds.), *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta (Lumen gentium, 53). Mélanges théologiques. Hommage à Mgr Gérard Philips* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1970), 343-380; K. Schelkens, "Philips, Gerard Gustaaf Alfons", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 213-214; K. Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard Philips, secrétaire adjoint de la Commission Doctrinale. Texte néerlandais avec traduction française et commentaires. Avec une introduction par L. Declerck* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006). Cf. J. Coppens, "Monseigneur Gérard Philips. Sa carrière et son œuvre", Gesché, Schruers, Coppens (eds.), *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta*, xi-xvi.

<sup>43</sup> Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 8-9, cf. "il n'entre pas dans notre intention d'orner le texte conciliaire d'une série d'études théologiques. Ce genre de littérature devient tous les jours plus abondant. (footnote to Baraúna and others, JM) Notre propos est plus modeste: nous cherchons simplement à comprendre avec la plus grande exactitude possible la doctrine proposée par le Concile. Pure exégèse donc, sans supplément de vues personnelles".

<sup>44</sup> For the Trinity, see Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 77, 91-92 and vol. 2, 296-297 and 328-330; for *sensus fidelium* and charisms, see Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 167-179 and vol. 2, 302.

<sup>45</sup> H. Cazelles, "Le Saint Esprit dans les textes de Vatican II", P. Evdokimov, H. Cazelles, A. Greiner (eds.), *Le mystère de l'Esprit-Saint* (Tours: Mame, 1968), 161-186. Cazelles (1912-2009), a priest of the Society of Saint Sulpice, was a professor of the Old Testament at the Institut catholique de Paris.

<sup>46</sup> Cazelles, "Le Saint Esprit dans les textes de Vatican II", 161. He does not explain what the framework is based on.

Doctrinal Commission, André-Marie Charue too offered an outline of the conciliar pneumatology, in which he focused on *Lumen gentium*.<sup>47</sup> Acknowledging that one may use different methods to synthesize the conciliar teaching on the matter, he himself opted for listing some important aspects, such as the Trinity, salvation history, Church, Pentecost, eschatology, Christ and the Paraclete.<sup>48</sup> As Cazelles, Bishop Charue did not explain the origin of these aspects, and different from Cazelles, Charue referred both to the conciliar text and various theologians.

Some ten years later, in 1978, the Italian Dominican Roberto Coggi discussed *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology too. He chose to follow the document's structure and to highlight for each chapter some of the key pneumatological statements.<sup>49</sup> Around that same time, Congar constructed an overview of various aspects, that he included in his trilogy "I believe in the Holy Spirit".<sup>50</sup> He opened by admitting that this overview was not based on the Council's explicit references, but rather on its "elements of a true pneumatology",<sup>51</sup> namely a Christological reference; the Spirit's role in the Church to sanctify; a trinitarian understanding of God and the Church; charisms; local churches; the Spirit's role in history.<sup>52</sup>

In the early 1980s, the Belgian Jesuit Georges Chantraine gave another overview of the conciliar pneumatology.<sup>53</sup> Focusing on ecclesiology, he listed various aspects, that he went on to consider pneumatologically. For example, he developed the notion of the Church as a mystery and a

---

<sup>47</sup> A.-M. Charue, "Le Saint-Esprit dans «Lumen Gentium»", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* 45 (1969), 358-379. Also published in Gesché, Schruers, Coppens (eds.), *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta*, 19-39. Charue (1898-1977), originally a Scripture scholar became the Doctrinal Commission's second vice-president, after Cardinal Browne. See L. Declerck, "Charue, André-Marie", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 76 and L. Declerck, Cl. Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires de l'évêque de Namur A.-M. Charue* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Faculté de la Théologie, 2000).

<sup>48</sup> "De l'enseignement de Vatican II sur le rôle du Saint-Esprit dans l'œuvre du salut, on peut concevoir diverses façons de faire la synthèse. Quelle que soit la méthode adoptée, il semble qu'en tout cas, d'importants aspects du *Mystère chrétien* seront mis en relief. Sans prétendre être exhaustif, nous relevons plusieurs de ces aspects", Charue, "Le Saint-Esprit dans «Lumen Gentium»", 368-369.

<sup>49</sup> R. Coggi, "Lo Spirito Santo nella costituzione dogmatica Lumen Gentium del Concilio Vaticano II", *Sacra Doctrina* 23 (1978), 133-153.

<sup>50</sup> Y. Congar, "La pneumatologie du Concile Vatican II", Congar, *Je crois en l'Esprit-Saint*, vol. 1, chapter X, 228-235.

<sup>51</sup> Congar, "La pneumatologie du Concile Vatican II", 228: "(i)l serait fastidieux de relever, dans chaque assemblée et chaque document, des mentions, même nombreuses (les textes du concile en comprendraient 258!), ne suffisent pas à faire une pneumatologie. Elles pourraient n'aboutir, comme on l'a dit (injustement, pensons-nous) qu'à «saupoudrer de Saint-Esprit» un text foncièrement non pneumatologique. Nous préférons tenter de dégager les éléments de vraie pneumatologie qui existent dans le concile Vatican II, et dont le dynamisme est, depuis lors, actif dans l'Église catholique".

<sup>52</sup> Congar, "La pneumatologie du Concile Vatican II", 228-234.

<sup>53</sup> G. Chantraine, "L'enseignement de Vatican II concernant l'Esprit Saint", Martins (ed.), *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, 993-1010. The title would have been more precise if it had included the word Church. Chantraine intended both to give an overview of the conciliar pneumatology and to complement it. Chantraine was a close friend with his fellow-jesuit Cardinal Henri de Lubac.

sacrament by noting that it is the Spirit who works community, and similarly for the hierarchy, to whom the Spirit has been given in a special manner to fulfil their mission. In her overview, the English Dominican sister Mary Cecily Boulding gave a short methodological account in which she claimed that “Vatican II’s pneumatology is to be gathered from the constant allusions to the role of the Spirit in every aspect of the life of the Church with which the texts are peppered, rather than by a detailed analysis of what is said on any particular occasion”.<sup>54</sup> The fruits of her analysis were presented in two articles. After first discussing the Spirit’s relation to Christ and to the Church, Boulding commented on the Spirit’s activities, listing the following: to sanctify, to build the Church, to dwell in the Church, to enlighten and to inspire to faith.<sup>55</sup>

The major in-depth investigation of *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology we owe to the Irish Carmelite Patrick Mullins.<sup>56</sup> Mullins started his exploration of *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology with various methodological considerations, in which he highlighted the hermeneutical significance of redaction history. In his own words, “the evolution of the individual texts, their interrelationship, and their relationship with the teaching of the other documents of the Council (...) provide the proximate criterion of interpretation”.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, he also considered various commentaries, especially that by Philips. As far as the text itself was concerned, Mullins claimed from the outset that LG 4 was “the principal affirmation of *Lumen gentium* in relation to the Holy Spirit”, a claim that he further specified by adding that “this text presents the Holy Spirit as having been sent at Pentecost for the continual sanctification of the Church”.<sup>58</sup> Logically therefore, Mullins started his overview of *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology with a chapter on Pentecost and the Spirit’s sanctifying action, followed by chapters on the Spirit in relation to the Church, baptism, the Church’s social structure, and Mary.<sup>59</sup>

Mullins’ detailed in-depth study was followed by others. In his theological-historical thesis on the ecclesial role of the Spirit between Vatican I and *Lumen gentium*, Valentino Maraldi explored the pneumatology of *Lumen gentium* in relation to the concept of revelation and the concept of Church.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> M.C. Boulding, “The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Documents of Vatican II”, *Irish Theological Quarterly* 51 (1985), 253-267, 255.

<sup>55</sup> Boulding, “The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Vatican II”, 254-255.

<sup>56</sup> P. Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit: the Holy Spirit Was Sent at Pentecost in Order that He Might Continually Sanctify the Church* (Ann Arbor (MI): University Microfilms, 1994). Thesis defended at the Gregorian university in 1990. Cf. P. Mullins, “Pentecost and Ecclesiology in Vatican II’s *Lumen gentium*”, *Milltown Studies* 31, (1993) 53-78.

<sup>57</sup> Thus the introduction to Part 2, see Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 167-171, at 167.

<sup>58</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 168, see also 172-176, 186, 379-380, cf. the subtitle of the book.

<sup>59</sup> See Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, Part 2, “The Meaning of the Teaching of *Lumen gentium* on the Holy Spirit”, 172-398.

<sup>60</sup> V. Maraldi, *Lo Spirito e la Sposa. Il Ruolo Ecclesiale dello Spirito Santo dal Vaticano I alla Lumen Gentium del Vaticano II* (Casale Monferrato: Edizioni Piemme, 1997). Thesis defended at the Philosophisch-theologische Hochschule Sankt Georgen in 1992. For the underlying methodological conviction, cf.: “(R)imane la domanda sul metodo da seguire in questa

In one of the chapters, he gave a synthetic overview of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology, in which he limited himself to LG 1-8.<sup>61</sup> Maraldi analysed the sentence structure of several passages, exploring Scripture and the Church fathers as well for deeper understanding. He concluded that the Spirit is the link between Christ and the Church, and that the latter has a revelatory function through the Spirit.<sup>62</sup>

In the year 2002, the German Benedictine Augustinus Jünemann defended his thesis on the Church as instrument of the Spirit.<sup>63</sup> Although his main interest was to construct an pneumatological ecclesiology on the basis of the ecclesiological proposals by Hans Küng, Miguel M. Garijo-Guembe and Medard Kehl,<sup>64</sup> he also reviewed *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology.<sup>65</sup> Structuring his reflection with the chapters of *Lumen gentium* – but leaving out chapters five, six and seven – Jünemann presents the pneumatological perspective of a specific ecclesiological topic. In doing so, he refers to a rich variety of commentators as well as to some conciliar texts. However, it is not clear which source has the priority, and the treatment of the conciliar texts is neither detailed nor complete.

The Italian priest Gabriele Cislighi also explored the Council's pneumatology. In his thesis on the pneumatological ecclesiology of the Council, he made a methodological distinction between a "positive" and a "speculative" moment.<sup>66</sup> After exploring in the first part the Council as an event, the development of the documents and the conciliar pneumatological teaching, in the second part he

---

ricerca. Esso è determinato da una convinzione: la nova e crescente penetrazione nel mistero della chiesa si fonda su una nuova comprensione dalla rivelazione. (...) La mia ricerca si lascerà allora guidare da questo *nexus*, facendo della correlazione fra rivelazione e chiesa la chiave ermeneutica che permetterà l'intelligenza del ruolo ecclesiologico dello Spirito Santo", Maraldi, *Lo Spirito e la Sposa*, 15.

<sup>61</sup> See chapter V, "La pneumatologia ecclesiale di *Lumen gentium* 1-8", Maraldi, *Lo Spirito e la Sposa*, 279-373. The choice for LG 1-8 is not accounted for, see Maraldi, *Lo Spirito e la Sposa*, 14.

<sup>62</sup> Maraldi, *Lo Spirito e la Sposa*, 374, "Così possiamo arrivare alla conclusione che non solo la chiesa si comprende a partire dalla rivelazione, ma anche che ciò che accade in ogni evento di rivelazione divina si comprende solo a partire dallo Spirito Santo". For Maraldi, revelation refers to Christ. Therefore, he repeatedly spoke about the Spirit as the one who creates the reciprocity between Christ and Church, cf.: "Dalla nostra ricerca è emerso non solo che lo Spirito Santo è colui che crea la reciprocità fra Christo e la chiesa, ma anche (...): Lo Spirito fa sì che la chiesa sia nel mondo il luogo in cui splende la luce di Cristo", at 375.

<sup>63</sup> A. Jünemann, *Kirche – Werkzeug des Geistes. Elemente einer pneumatologische Ekklesiologie* (Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 2003).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Jünemann, *Kirche – Werkzeug des Geistes*, 18, "In der vorliegenden Untersuchung sollen drei nachkonziliare ekklesiologische Gesamtentwürfe aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum, in denen ausdrücklich die pneumatische Perspektive gewählt wurde, untersucht worden. (...) Ziel der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme unverzichtbarer Elemente in einer pneumatologische Ekklesiologie. Am Schluss der Arbeit werden diese Elemente zu einer Skizze zusammengefügt".

<sup>65</sup> Jünemann, *Kirche – Werkzeug des Geistes*, chapter 2, "Die Rolle des Heiligen Geistes in «Lumen gentium» – Die Kirche als universales Heilssakrament des Geistes", 39-74.

<sup>66</sup> G. Cislighi, *Per una ecclesiologia pneumatologica. Il Concilio Vaticano II e una proposta sistematica* (Milano: Edizione Glossa, 2004). Thesis defended at the Faculty of Theology of Northern Italy, in Venegono Inferiore, and the Gregorian university in Rome.

ventured his own ecclesiological proposal.<sup>67</sup> His analysis of the conciliar pneumatology is topical: Cislighi investigated certain texts rather than reviewing the conciliar pneumatology in a comprehensive manner. Starting from the Church as a trinitarian mystery, Cislighi dealt with various other topics as well, such as sacrament, temple of the Spirit, and the Church as being taught by the Spirit. Cislighi used various hermeneutical tools; he considered the development of the texts during the Council as well as earlier magisterial texts, highlighted the structure of sentences, related conciliar texts from various documents to one another, and occasionally referred to theologians.

Finally, in his thesis, the Hungarian priest Áron Fejérdy investigated the conciliar texts in search for its description of the roles of Christ and the Spirit.<sup>68</sup> After giving an overview of the salvation-historical work of both divine persons according to the Council, he compared his findings with Orthodox theological views of the Spirit, to venture in the second part his own proposal. His analysis is guided by certain categories, such as sending / being sent and revealing. Introduced without methodological account, so that they seem to correspond with Fejérdy's interest rather than the text, it is not surprising to find that some significant aspects of the Spirit's role in the Church escape his attention, such as the category of the Spirit who leads the Church, amongst others through charisms.<sup>69</sup>

In conclusion, this overview brings good news and bad news. The good news is that about fifteen authors have explored the conciliar pneumatology, five of whom made a detailed, in-depth analysis of *Lumen gentium's* pneumatology: Mühlen, Mullins, Maraldi, Cislighi, Fejérdy.<sup>70</sup> In addition, especially the in-depth studies took into account hermeutical aspects such as theological-historical and redaction-historical background, textual details, intratextuality and theological context.

The bad news is that especially earlier commentators simply read the text, unaware of methodological issues. As the French-Canadian theologian Gilles Routhier observed, in the first fifteen years after the Council "people interpreted the Council, people commented on its texts, but they did so as if that was self-evident".<sup>71</sup> For example, Mühlen's reading of the conciliar pneumatology overlaps to such an extent with his own previous ecclesiology that it is difficult not to conclude that his own theology has guided his interpretation. Fejérdy's reading of the Council shows that more recent studies too may lack a methodological account with, as a consequence, debatable results.

---

<sup>67</sup> Cislighi, *Per una ecclesiologia pneumatologica*, 7-11.

<sup>68</sup> A. Fejérdy, *L'Église de l'Esprit du Christ. La relation ordonnée du Christ et de l'Esprit au mystère ecclésial: une lecture de Vatican II* (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2013), esp. 5-146. Thesis defended in Fribourg in 2012.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the fact that LG 12 is only referred to in footnotes, in both cases without reference to the Spirit's leading role in the Church or charisms, see Fejérdy, *L'Église de l'Esprit du Christ*, 35 (footnote 67) and 130 (footnote 54).

<sup>70</sup> I have not been able to consult Damian Zam Sian Dal's thesis *A Re-Appraisal of Vatican II's Pneumatology in view of Contemporary Ecclesiological Discourse on the Teaching Office of the Church*, defended in Leuven (December 2017).

<sup>71</sup> Routhier, "L'assemblée extraordinaire de 1985 du synode des évêques", 61-62, cf.: "En effet, hormis quelques écrits pionniers, les quinze premières années qui suivirent la clôture du concile ne développent pas une réflexion explicite sur l'herméneutique conciliaire. Certes, on interprète le concile, on commente ses textes, mais on fait comme si cela allait de soit et ne posait aucun problème".

Secondly, these examples illustrate that the number of in-depth studies is not only limited, but that each of the works mentioned above has serious flaws. Mühlen reads the Council against the background of his own ecclesiology and Mullins and Fejérdy are both preoccupied with their own pneumatological notions, be it the idea of the Spirit as sanctifying the Church or specific Christological and pneumatological categories. Further, Maraldi reads only LG 1-8, and Cislighi focuses on topics rather than texts. Arguably therefore, the question how, from a text-focused perspective, *Lumen gentium* conceives the Spirit has not yet been answered in a satisfactory manner.

## 1.2 Hermeneutics of the Author: Redaction-Historical Approach

In the second place, scholars have interpreted *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology by considering its redaction history. This redaction-historical interpretation is one aspect of what Rush called the hermeneutics of the author. It is not only about reconstructing the exact development of the text on the Spirit but also about revealing the intention of the authors, or the so-called spirit or mind of the Council. According to Rush, "reconstruction of the history of the documents' formulation (...) provides the data for a reconstruction of what Paul VI called «the Council's spirit»".<sup>72</sup> This reconstruction involves not only the development of the text versions during the four Periods of the Council, but also the addresses and interventions during the Council, the intersessions, the pre-conciliar proceedings, and the general dynamic of "the event" that the Council was. In this section, I will give an overview of who studied *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology in this manner, how they did so, what they focused on and what they found. As almost all studies recall in some way that *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology has developed during the Council, I will include in this section only those studies with a somewhat elaborated redaction-historical reflection.

In the first half of his article on the Council's rediscovery of the Spirit, Adolf Laminski outlined the growing place of the Holy Spirit in the different drafts and discussed various significant interventions.<sup>73</sup> He concluded that the Spirit's place in the text changed from marginal to foundational, and therefore spoke of a rediscovery: "Nach dem Bemühen der Theologie um Wiedergewinnung der pneumatologischen Dimension der Kirche hat nun zum ersten Mal ein ökumenisches Konzil mit Nachdruck und ziemlichem Umfang den vorrangigen Platz des Dreifaltigkeitsgeheimnisses im Mysterium der Kirche als Grundlage für ein besseres Verständnis ihrer göttlichen Sendung und ihres übernatürlichen Wirkens in der Welt herausgestellt. Ohne Christus oder ohne Heiligen Geist läßt sich die Kirche einfach nicht denken."<sup>74</sup> Charue wrote a somewhat similar article in which he referred to the

---

<sup>72</sup> Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, 22, cf. 22-30.

<sup>73</sup> Laminski, "Die Entdeckung der pneumatologischen Dimension", 393-401.

<sup>74</sup> Laminski, "Die Entdeckung der pneumatologischen Dimension", 401-402. Cf. his earlier assessment that "im ganzen Entwurf des ersten Kapitels (of the first draft, JM) (...) war die pneumatologische Sicht der Kirche kein tragendes Element", at 393.

conciliar discussions and the various drafts and versions.<sup>75</sup> He singled out some substantial changes, such as the introduction of LG 4, and pointed to subtle additions, such as the elaboration of the pneumatological reference in the reflection on holiness in LG 40. The result of what Charue called a growing desire for “a more clearly pneumatological orientation” was a text that, according to Charue, “marked the high point” of the Council’s pneumatological development.<sup>76</sup>

In his 1980 thesis, the Italian priest Giovanni Fogliazza criticized those who only took into consideration the final text, and not the *iter* or development of the texts, that he therefore attempted to analyse. Unfortunately, I have only been able to consult the *estratto* of his thesis.<sup>77</sup> Around the same time, Mullins too highlighted the Council’s redaction history, to which he devoted the first part of his thesis on *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology. According to Mullins, “we need to understand the mind of the Council to interpret its texts properly”.<sup>78</sup> Mullins took into account both the preparatory period and the Council itself, and referred to the various schemata, other drafts, addresses and written submissions, and *modi*. He showed that over time, the drafts gave more weight to the Holy Spirit so that in the final text “there is hardly any aspect of the life of the Church which is not related in some way to the Holy Spirit”.<sup>79</sup>

*Lumen gentium*’s redaction history is important to Maraldi as well. Yet different from Mullins, Maraldi limited himself to LG 1-8 and placed his redaction-historical chapter at the end of his reflection, after the theological-historical ones. Moreover, as we have seen, Maraldi understood pneumatology in relation to revelation theology and ecclesiology, and therefore investigated the development of these themes as well. He noticed the influence of the emerging theological concepts of divine self-revelation, salvation history, and the Church as a mystery, and stated that these resulted in a trinitarian ecclesiology in which the Spirit played a significant role.

In 2003, Sally Vance-Trembath defended her thesis on the pneumatology of Vatican II.<sup>80</sup> Her main interest lies not in the Council’s explicit references to the Spirit but rather pneumatological

---

<sup>75</sup> Charue, “Le Saint-Esprit dans «Lumen Gentium»”, 360-368.

<sup>76</sup> Charue, “Le Saint-Esprit dans «Lumen Gentium»”, 361-362 and 368, cf.: “(U)ne orientation plus franchement pneumatologique”, and, “Vraiment, en cette fin de 1964, *Lumen gentium* marque le sommet d’une étape dans le progrès conciliaire de la pneumatologie”.

<sup>77</sup> G. Fogliazza, *La Tematica Pneumatologica al Concilio Vaticano II*. Thesis defended at the theological faculty of Milano.

<sup>78</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 11. In the introduction to the second part, Mullins repeated the significance of redaction history, calling it the “background for understanding the mind of the Council”, at 167.

<sup>79</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 11-12. The quote was preceded by the observation that, “although the early drafts were by no means devoid of references to the Holy Spirit, later drafts are more and more pneumatological”.

<sup>80</sup> S. Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II. With Particular Reference to Lumen gentium and Gaudium et spes* (Köln: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2009). Thesis defended at Notre Dame University in 2003. The quality of the publication is bad, as for example the page numbers in the table of content do not correspond to the actual page numbers.

motives.<sup>81</sup> The criteria for those she derived from Congar. In her own words, “while Pope John provides us with the starting-point (viz., in the quest for the Council’s pneumatology, JM), Congar’s theology provided us with a way to make judgements about the pneumatological character of various procedural changes or speeches at the Council. Indeed, his historical studies are the source of the three characteristics we identified for a proper pneumatology: collaboration, respect for personal competence and dialogue”.<sup>82</sup> What she explored was therefore mainly what one may call the Council’s implicit pneumatology, or in her own words, “the on-going presence of God in the human person, in the world and in history that is manifest in the reality of human freedom that is exercised from two directions: the personal and the communitarian”.<sup>83</sup>

As a consequence of the implicit character of her pneumatology, Vance-Trembath focused on events, not on drafts. She identified five key moments during which the Council’s “fresh pneumatology” and “reformed ecclesiology” became manifest: John XXIII’s opening speech to the first session, which was “critical for establishing the Council’s emerging pneumatology because it described the pastoral notion of the Church”, the postponement of the voting round on October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1962, and the debates during the First Period on the drafts on liturgy, revelation and the Church.<sup>84</sup> It is not clear why Vance-Trembath limits her choice of key moments to the First Period and therefore omits, e.g., the debate during the Second Period on charisms.<sup>85</sup> Vance-Trembath concluded that future Council interpretations needed to be determined by the three core pneumatological characteristics underlying the conciliar ecclesiology: collaboration, respect for personal competence, and dialogue.

In conclusion, there appears to be a scholarly consensus that *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology is the fruit of a laborious redaction history. Moreover Mullins, Maraldi and Vance-Trembath make in-depth explorations, although in different ways. While Mullins focused on redaction history and related

---

<sup>81</sup> Vance-Trembath deplored that in theological discourse, “pneumatology remains disconnected from the rich ecclesiological reflection that it yielded at the Council”. By contrast, she believes that at the Council pneumatology, taken in the broad sense, has been the source of ecclesiology, a claim that she unfortunately does not give textual proof for. See Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 14-15 and 206.

<sup>82</sup> Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 19. Cf. the final conclusion, “We identified three characteristics of the pneumatology that underlies the reformed ecclesiology of the Council: collaboration, respect for personal competence, and dialogue”, 435.

<sup>83</sup> Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 147. Because of her very specific method that does not focus on the text but rather on implicit pneumatology, I have not included Vance-Trembath in section 1.1, cf. Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 303-409.

<sup>84</sup> These moments are introduced, Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 207-209; for elaboration, see 210-297; for the “fresh pneumatology” and the “reformed ecclesiology”, see 205-206; for the quote on Pope John, see 210.

<sup>85</sup> Vance-Trembath mentioned several theologians who argue that “by the end of the first session the Council’s trajectory of progressive ideas was on its way forward”, Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 209. In fact however, the redaction-historical development amply demonstrates the importance of subsequent developments for the conciliar pneumatology, as the authors she quoted would readily agree. For proof, including the contributions by Suenens and Ziadé, see Part II of this thesis.



aspects, such as Council addresses, Vance-Trembath took her starting point from outside the text, namely Congar, and limited herself moreover to the First Period. Finally, Maraldi's analysis could be called theologically comprehensive, for he studied the development of *Lumen gentium's* pneumatology in relation to its theological and its ecclesiological framework and the development of these.

It should be welcomed that scholars acknowledge the importance of redaction-history when exploring *Lumen gentium's* pneumatology and that some in-depth studies are available. In spite of that, it is obvious that the redaction-historical approach to *Lumen gentium's* pneumatology deserves further elaboration. For the analysis by Maraldi and Vance-Trembath is severely impaired because of the self-imposed limitations, in one case to LG 1-8 and in the other to the First Period. In addition, Mullins' analysis is in some instances outdated because of the research tools that have become available since 1994, when he published his thesis, such as the extensive, five-volume historical overview edited by Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, published between 1995 and 2006,<sup>86</sup> the Council diary by Congar, published in 2002, and the Council diary by Sebastiaan Tromp, the first three volumes of which have been published between 2006 and 2014.<sup>87</sup>

### 1.3 Hermeneutics of the Author: Theological-Historical Approach

Thirdly, scholars interpret *Lumen gentium's* pneumatology in the light of recent theological history. In this section I will review who did so, how they did so, what they focused on, and what they found. Again, the discussion is not extensive but aims at giving an impression.

Firstly, several authors briefly treat theological history to provide another type of analysis with some background. While mainly discussing the rediscovery of the Holy Spirit on the basis of the text's redaction history, Adolf Laminski concluded his article by situating this rediscovery theological-historically.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, Bishop Charue started his article on the Holy Spirit in *Lumen gentium* with a few brief hints at the Spirit's marginal role in ecclesiology and theology at large to situate *Lumen gentium's* pneumatology in its historical context, before elaborating the history of the text and attempting a synthesis of its pneumatology.<sup>89</sup> When discussing the conciliar pneumatology, Congar too usually made some brief historical-theological comments, without much elaboration, such as when he characterised LG 14's pneumatology as "the beginning of moving beyond Christomonism",

<sup>86</sup> G. Alberigo, J.A. Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, 5 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1995-2006). Published in various other languages.

<sup>87</sup> A. von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ. Mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Theologischen Kommission* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2006; Nordhausen: Bautz Verlag, 2011 and 2014); it covers the years 1960-1964.

<sup>88</sup> Laminski, "Die Entdeckung der pneumatologischen Dimension der Kirche", 401-402 (section "Die theologiegeschichtliche Bedeutung").

<sup>89</sup> Charue, "Le Saint-Esprit dans «Lumen Gentium»", 358-359.

without elaborating how exactly.<sup>90</sup> Finally, in his overview article of Western pneumatology, the German theologian Leo Scheffczyk also mentioned the Council, namely in its concluding lines.<sup>91</sup>

The first to offer an extensive theological historical reading of the Council's pneumatology is the Austrian Salesian Alois Kothgasser, in his overview-article of Catholic pneumatology in the twentieth century. After sketching on the basis of encyclicals by Pope Leo XIII and Pius XII the typical early twentieth century pneumatology, he discussed the pneumatological development in the course of the Council. According to Kothgasser, what stood out in theological-historical perspective were amongst others the pneumatological nuance the Council brought to earlier christocentrism, its attention for charisms, and the appreciation of the local as well as other Christian churches.<sup>92</sup>

Mullins too investigated the Council's theological-historical context. After first sketching the redaction history (part 1) and exploring the text itself (part 2), he situated these findings in his third part in their theological-historical context.<sup>93</sup> Mullins gave an overview of magisterial and theological Catholic pneumatology since the French Revolution, including Johann Adam Möhler, Matthias Joseph Scheeben, Cardinal Edward Manning, Leo XIII, Pius XII, and several early twentieth century theologians, and then explored the significance of the conciliar pneumatology by comparing fifteen typical aspects of *Lumen gentium's* pneumatology with earlier pneumatologies, for example the trinitarian understanding of the Church, the image of the temple of the Spirit, charisms, and the *sensus fidei*. He concluded that "our comparison between the teaching of *Lumen gentium* and the developments in pneumatology over the last two hundred years reveals both a strong degree of continuity and a radical newness of approach".<sup>94</sup> Finally, different from Mullins, Maraldi started his exploration of the ecclesial role of the Spirit between Vatican I and *Lumen gentium* with several theological-historical chapters. After first exploring Vatican I, Leo XIII and Pius XII, he illustrated what was new in the Council.<sup>95</sup> Maraldi drew attention to the shift in understanding revelation, from information to relation, and to the corresponding ecclesiological and pneumatological shifts, from

---

<sup>90</sup> Y. Congar, "Les implications Christologiques et pneumatologiques de l'ecclésiologie de Vatican II", G. Alberigo (ed.), *Les Églises après Vatican II. Dynamisme et prospective. Actes du Colloque international de Bologne 1980* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1982), 117-130. Congar evaluated the inclusion of the Spirit in the description of Church membership in LG 14 as "le début du dépassement d'un «christomonisme». Le début seulement. Cela va continuer". Cf. Congar, "Actualité de la pneumatologie".

<sup>91</sup> L. Scheffczyk, "Der Heilige Geist in der Abendländischen Tradition", S. Martins (ed.), *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, 445-460, 460.

<sup>92</sup> Kothgasser, "Die katholische Pneumatologie im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert. Perspektiven, Strömungen, Motive, Ausblick", Martins (ed.), *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, 611-659, esp. 623-638.

<sup>93</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, part 3, especially chapters 11 and 12, 399-504. Cf. Mullins, "Pentecost and Ecclesiology in Vatican II's *Lumen gentium*".

<sup>94</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 503.

<sup>95</sup> Maladi, *Lo Spirito e la Sposa*. Chapters 1-3 focus on theological history, chapter 4 on redaction history and chapter 5 on the text itself. Maraldi specified that new does not mean a contrast with old, but rather a deepening, Maladi, *Lo Spirito e la Sposa*, 14.

juridical institution to sacrament, as well as from the apologetical view of the Holy Spirit as the Church's divine extra to the more theological and spiritual view of the Spirit as a unifying power.

In conclusion, while several scholars referred to the theological historical context of the conciliar pneumatology, Kothgasser, Mullins and Maraldi explored this context in some detail and depth. Kothgasser's overview was relatively short, and focused on topics. Mullins and Maraldi differ in starting or concluding their exploration with theological-historical considerations. As their objective differed somewhat, so did the outcomes; for whilst Mullins focused on pneumatology in the whole of *Lumen gentium*, Maraldi's focus was much more ecclesiological, and he treated only LG 1-8. In my research I hope to complement the explorations by Kothgasser, Mullins and Maraldi, that are a good starting point, with further details.

## 1.4 Hermeneutics of the Receiver

Finally, Rush distinguished a "hermeneutics of the receiver", in which "the receiver is a co-creator of the meaning of what is communicated" by receiving it in his or her own context.<sup>96</sup> Limiting myself to how scholars have received *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology,<sup>97</sup> I will explore here who received the Council in this way, how they did so, what they focused on and what they found.

Almost all explorations of the conciliar pneumatology conclude with some evaluative comments. This is a first manifestation of a hermeneutics of the receiver, for any evaluation presupposes a specific standpoint, which is the receiver's. According to Laurentin and Mühlen, the Council represented a welcome step forward: Vatican II was full of promises as Latin ecclesiology had "entered a pneumatological phase".<sup>98</sup> In his overview article about the Holy Spirit and Vatican II, Cazelles also noted possibilities for improvement. While rejecting the criticism that the Council had not sufficiently focused on the Spirit, he did note the Council's focus on Christ and critically remarked that it insufficiently considered the role of the Spirit in the incarnation and in salvation history predating Christ.<sup>99</sup> In the same year, Adolf Laminski evaluated the Council's pneumatology in a

---

<sup>96</sup> Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, 55, cf. "the receiver's creative involvement in bringing any text alive", 68.

<sup>97</sup> Rush claims that the whole people of God is to be considered the primary receiver of the conciliar teaching; here I will limit myself to theologians. In addition, he followed Grillmeier in distinguishing between e.g. a theological reception and a spiritual one; again, I will limit myself to theological reception. See Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, 53-55.

<sup>98</sup> Mühlen, *Una mystica Persona*, vii, "In den Aussagen des Vaticanum II ist – wenn nicht alles täuscht – die Ekklesiologie nunmehr endgültig in eine, durch die Enzyklika «Mystici Corporis» Pius' XII. bereits eingeleitete, *pneumatologische Phase* eingetreten". Mühlen refers here to R. Laurentin's observation that at the Council "Le sens de l'Esprit-Saint (...) a été vivifié. «Le grand méconnu» commence à retrouver la place qui lui était reconnue à l'origine de l'Église: celle du premier personnage de l'histoire du salut en marche". Laurentin added that "Si Vatican II tient ses promesses, il apparaîtra, sans doute, aux yeux de l'histoire, comme une première étape de la redécouverte du Saint-Esprit", R. Laurentin, *Bilan du concile Vatican II. Histoire – textes – commentaires* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), 367.

<sup>99</sup> Cazelles, "Le Saint Esprit dans les textes de Vatican II", 163 and 185-186, cf. full text, "On a parfois reproché au dernier Concile de ne pas avoir suffisamment centré sa doctrine sur le Saint-Esprit. En fait il en a beaucoup parlé et, voulant se tenir

similar way. Although he was appreciative of the “discovery of the pneumatological dimension” of the Church, he also noted that “the old reproach, that in theology and practical behaviour, the Spirit’s activity is neglected, has not yet fallen silent”.<sup>100</sup> In his 1980 trilogy on the Holy Spirit, Congar evaluated the Council as having a “true pneumatology”,<sup>101</sup> but in other publications he was more critical about the Council, considering the Council as a starting point and adding that it needed to be developed further:

Le deuxième Concile du Vatican a commencé à nous rendre la dimension pneumatologique de l’Église, inséparablement en elle-même et dans son rapport avec le cosmos. A commencé, disons-nous. Car ici, comme en beaucoup de choses, Vatican II est resté comme en mi-chemin, mais il a ensemencé l’Église de germes vivantes, qui ont fructifié depuis.<sup>102</sup>

Kothgasser spoke of the Council as a “pneumatological new departure” and “a rediscovery”, yet he also noted various “desiderata”, such as a foundational role for pneumatology in ecclesiology, and charisms.<sup>103</sup> Mary Cecily Boulding stressed that the Holy Spirit was an integral part of the conciliar texts in their final version and she pointed out that the Spirit’s function was not merely “decorative”, as some had claimed.<sup>104</sup> The list of references could be continued. Most commentators are short and speak mainly or exclusively in an appreciative manner.

---

très près de l’Écriture dans sa formulation, il ne pouvait pas ne pas beaucoup en parler”. Also, “Le Concile insiste surtout sur l’achèvement de l’œuvre du Christ. (...) (L)e Concile parle beaucoup moins des missions de l’Esprit qui ont abouti à l’Incarnation que de la Mission où il est envoyé à l’Église. (...) (D)ans son résumé de l’histoire du salut avant cette plénitude, le Concile ne prononce pas le nom du Saint-Esprit, tout en parlant d’une «lumière prophétique», ce qui pouvait amorcer des aperçus sur l’action de l’Esprit dans le mouvement prophétique. (...) Ici nous avons une pierre d’attente”.

<sup>100</sup> A. Laminski, “Die Entdeckung der pneumatologischen Dimension der Kirche durch das Konzil und ihre Bedeutung”, F. Hoffmann, L. Scheffczyk, K. Feiereis (eds.), *Sapienter ordinare. Festgabe für Erich Kleinedam* (Leipzig: St. Benno Verlag, 1969), 392-405, 402, cf. “Es scheint aber, daß die im Laufe der Konzilsarbeit erfolgte Wiederentdeckung der pneumatischen Dimension der Kirche mindestens von gleicher Bedeutung ist (as the rediscovery of episcopal collegiality, JM), wenn nicht sogar als das eigentlich und grundlegend Neue der konziliaren Ekklesiologie angesehen werden muß, da diese Dimension der kirchlichen Wirklichkeit erst die Voraussetzung für das rechte Verständnis der Kollegialität und der Orts- bzw. Teilkirchen bildet” and “Der alte Vorwurf, daß das Wirken des Heiligen Geistes in der Theologie und im praktischen Verhalten vernachlässigt wird, ist auch nach dem Konzil noch nicht verstummt”.

<sup>101</sup> Congar concluded his overview of Vatican II’s pneumatology: “On peut donc parler, pour Vatican II, d’une vraie pneumatologie”, Congar, *Je crois en l’Esprit-Saint*, vol. 1, 234. Cf. Congar’s earlier, mainly defensive article, Y. Congar “Pneumatologie ou «Christomonisme» dans la tradition latine?”, Gesché, Schruers, Coppens (eds.), *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta*, 41-63.

<sup>102</sup> “Actualité de la pneumatologie”, 16, cf. Congar, “Les implications Christologiques et pneumatologiques”, 123.

<sup>103</sup> Kothgasser, “Die katholische Pneumatologie im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert”, 623.

<sup>104</sup> Boulding, “The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Vatican II”, 255: “Consideration of some of these allusions (to the Holy Spirit) does show that this constantly repeated assumption is not just a decorative «dragging-in» of the Holy Spirit for form’s sake; the role assigned to him is integral to that aspect of the Church which is being discussed or described”.

Nissiotis stands out, both by speaking at greater length and by being mainly critical. Amongst others in his often referred to article “The Main Ecclesiological Problem”,<sup>105</sup> Nissiotis explained that he was intentionally critical, as in his view the Catholic Church needs criticism.<sup>106</sup> Focusing on the key ecclesiological convictions rather than textual details, Nissiotis sketched the development of these convictions during the Council, recalled their Western theological context, and evaluated them critically in the light of the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Nissiotis’s main criticism was the institutional rather than theological focus of *Lumen gentium*’s ecclesiology, which according to Nissiotis was ultimately caused by a weak pneumatology: “Our criticism of the Roman ecclesiology is due primarily to the hierarchical understanding of the Church which results from the lack of a consistent pneumatology affirming at the same time both that the Ecclesia is the People of God and that the hierarchy cannot be separated and examined apart as a *de jure divino* reality”.<sup>107</sup> This criticism he repeated throughout the article.<sup>108</sup> At two instances, Nissiotis gives a short outline of an alternative ecclesiology in which the Church was conceived as the people of God gifted with the Holy Spirit.<sup>109</sup>

Mullins concluded in his thesis that, “although incomplete in certain respects, the teaching of *Lumen gentium* constitutes the basis of what Congar would call a «pneumatology» in the technical sense of the word”.<sup>110</sup> This he concluded at the end of a relatively long evaluative chapter, in which he also offered an overview of evaluations by others and an overview of the reception of the conciliar teaching by (post-)conciliar magisterial documents and theologians.<sup>111</sup>

Vance-Trembath’s thesis deserves to be mentioned too, not because Vance-Trembath’s work displayed a hermeneutics of the receiver, but because she aimed to provide instruments for a hermeneutics of the receiver by identifying the spirit of the Council: “So the task of the dissertation is

---

<sup>105</sup> Nissiotis, “The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council”. For other similar reflections, see page 31.

<sup>106</sup> Nissiotis, “The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council”, 35. He is also critical of the Protestant tradition and his own tradition, see 55-61.

<sup>107</sup> Nissiotis, “The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council”, 54, cf. the analysis under the headings “The identification of the Apostolicity of the Church only with the Episcopate”, 39-46, and “The Collegiality of the Bishops and the Pleroma of the Church”, 46-48. The “profound reasons” for this ecclesiology are pneumatological: “The profound reasons for the Orthodox criticism of this type of ecclesiology arise from the fact that this schema betrays a very weak theology of the Holy Spirit”, 48, elaborated 48-51.

<sup>108</sup> Cf.: “The Trinity, once mentioned in the prologue (...) is given little importance in the seven other chapters; in particular there is little mention of the Holy Spirit as Paraclete, as founder and charismatic source of the life of the Church in all her aspects, sacramental, prophetic and institutional”, Nissiotis, “The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council”, 33, see also 33-36; and 61: “The main problem of Vatican II (is) the failure to attempt to construct ecclesiology on the basis of a strong theology of the Holy Spirit”.

<sup>109</sup> Nissiotis, “The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council”, 50 and 59.

<sup>110</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 620.

<sup>111</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 542-563 (*status quaestionis*); 563-615 (magisterial and theological reception) and 615-620 (his own reflections).

not the interpretation of the documents per se; it is to offer a tool for textual interpretation".<sup>112</sup> She felt inspired by Hermann Josef Pottmeyer's observations that conciliar hermeneutics are stuck in an impasse as well as by his suggestion that in order to move forward, hermeneutics should take into account the implicit direction of the Council.<sup>113</sup> Her intention, then, is "to contribute to overcoming the impasse in the reception of the Council by offering a theological description of the pneumatology that informed and shaped the ecclesiology of the Council, not only in its final documents but also in the process of formulating them".<sup>114</sup>

Rush should be mentioned as well, for in addition to giving an overview of conciliar hermeneutics, he also made a plea for a creative reading of the Council. He spoke of a "reception pneumatology", as a creative reading is animated by pneumatology. According to Rush, the Council should be approached in a similar manner as the Council itself operated, namely by attentiveness to the signs of the times.<sup>115</sup>

However, few scholars in fact read *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology creatively, as Vance-Trembath and Rush advocated. For firstly, when *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology is approached creatively, the focus is in fact more on ecclesiology than pneumatology. Gabriele Cislighi creatively approached the Council and its pneumatology, yet, as the title *Per una ecclesiologia pneumatologica* indicates, his main interest was ecclesiology.<sup>116</sup> Similarly, Gordian Otu explored in his thesis *The Holy Spirit in the Mission of the Church* pneumatological ecclesiology and pneumatological missiology rather than reflecting on conciliar pneumatology.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, Otu presented rather than critically received the conciliar pneumatology; the creative aspect of his work concerned missiology, not pneumatology.

Secondly, in so far as there are creative pneumatological reflections, they do not usually depart from the Council, but rather from Scripture, the Church fathers, or modern circumstances. In his

---

<sup>112</sup> Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 15.

<sup>113</sup> Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 5-7. She referred to Pottmeyer's seminal 1987 article on that matter, in which he claimed that after an initial phase of excitement, a second phase of council interpretation was dominated by the conflict between conservative and progressive interpretations, that based themselves on the contrasting positions in the conciliar texts itself. See H.J. Pottmeyer, "A New Phase in the Reception of Vatican II: Twenty Years of Interpretation of the Council", G. Alberigo, J-P. Jossua, J. Komonchak (eds.), *The Reception of Vatican II* (Washington, The Catholic University of America Press, 1987), 27-43, at 41-43. Originally published in French and Italian in 1985.

<sup>114</sup> Vance-Trembath, *The Pneumatology of Vatican II*, 11-12.

<sup>115</sup> Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, 69-85, with reference to Herman Josef Pottmeyer, who links conciliar hermeneutics to discerning the spirits and to pneumatology, see H.J. Pottmeyer, "A New Phase in the Reception of Vatican II", 41-43. For a similar plea for a creative reading, see G. Routhier's discussion of the question "how to read today the conciliar texts, that were elaborated in another time", G. Routhier, "Le Concile Vatican II livré aux interprétations de générations successives", *Science et Esprit* 61/2-3 (2009), 237-255.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. full title, *Per una ecclesiologia pneumatologica. Il Concilio Vaticano II e una proposta sistematica*.

<sup>117</sup> See G. Otu, *The Holy Spirit in the Mission of the Church in Vatican II and in Post-Conciliar Theology*, thesis defended at the Gregorian university in 2000, published in 2001. I have used the digital file kindly put at my disposal by Dr. Otu.

introduction to pneumatology, the German Benedictine Christian Schütz mentioned the Council only as part of a historical overview, not as a source for the subsequent systematic elaboration.<sup>118</sup> And in his 1986 encyclical on the Holy Spirit *Dominum et vivificantem*, Pope John Paul II suggested in one of the opening articles that the Council's contribution to promoting a pneumatological spirituality was Paul VI's invitation to "a new study of and devotion to the Holy Spirit" in order to complement the Council rather than the texts themselves. although later articles make reference to the conciliar pneumatology, these observations are part of an investigation of the "data" (part I) and do not play a role in the constructive reflections on sin (part II) and life (part III).<sup>119</sup> The text fragment on the Council deserves to be quoted:

This faith (in the Holy Spirit, JM) (...) needs to be constantly reawakened and deepened. (...) In the course of the last hundred years this has been done several times: by Leo XIII, who published the encyclical epistle *Divinum Illud Munus* (1897) entirely devoted to the Holy Spirit; by Pius XII (...) in the encyclical letter *Mystici corporis* (1943) (...); at the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council which brought out the need for a new study of the doctrine on the Holy Spirit, as Paul VI emphasized: «The Christology and particularly the ecclesiology of the Council must be succeeded by a new study of and devotion to the Holy Spirit, precisely as the indispensable complement to the teaching of the Council».<sup>120</sup>

Thus creative readings of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology are rare. Of course, *Lumen gentium* is an ecclesiological document, and therefore it does not naturally serve as a starting point for pneumatological reflection. Moreover, starting from Scripture and the Church fathers should be appreciated as a fruit of the Council, as should taking into account modern circumstances. Still, by not using *Lumen gentium* as a source for pneumatology, the pneumatological progress of the Council risks to escape our attention.

In conclusion, whilst scholars often make evaluative statements on *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology, in-depth critical evaluations are rare. The evaluations are mainly positive, yet often weaknesses and possibilities for improvement are noted as well, such as the absence of a pneumatological Christology. Some accounts are mainly critical, such as Nissiotis, or exclusively appreciative, such as Maraldi (on the basis of LG 1-8). Efforts to creatively carry forward *Lumen*

---

<sup>118</sup> Schütz, *Einführung in die Pneumatologie*, 136-140. For similar approaches, see B.J. Hilberath, *Pneumatologie* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1994). K. McDonnell, *The Other Hand of God. The Holy Spirit as the Universal Touch and Goal* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2003). D. Coffey, «Did You Receive the Holy Spirit When You Believed?» *Some Basic Questions for Pneumatology* (Marquette: Marquette University Press, 2005).

<sup>119</sup> Cf. John Paul II, *Dominum et Vivificantem*, no. 25-26.

<sup>120</sup> John Paul II, *Dominum et Vivificantem. On the Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church and the World* (1986), online at [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_enc\\_18051986\\_dominum-et-vivificantem.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_18051986_dominum-et-vivificantem.html), article 2. According to the footnote, the quote is taken from a general audience on June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1973.

*gentium*'s pneumatology are virtually absent. The shortage of detailed evaluations suggests it is relevant to undertake in this thesis such an evaluation. For practical reasons, I will abstain from a creative reception.

## Conclusion

This objective of this chapter was to give an overview of studies in *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology, both to substantiate my claim about the small number of in-depth explorations and to prepare for my own project. The overview has shown indeed that, although *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology has clearly not been forgotten, the number of in-depth explorations is limited; only Mühlen, Mullins, Maraldi, Cislighi, Vance-Trembath and Fejérdy belong to that category. In this regard the bibliography of studies on *Lumen gentium* published in 2012 by the Canadian church historian Philippe Roy is revealing, for a mere twenty-one of the eight hundred and fifty-five articles and books he listed mention in the title the Holy Spirit or pneumatology.<sup>121</sup> Arguably there is a lacuna in fundamental explorations of pneumatological renewal.

In the second place, the overview shows that scholars often mix up various hermeneutical approaches. Although in the light of Rush' theory on council hermeneutics, such multi-hermeneutical approaches should be welcomed, most authors do so with little methodological explanation, which leads to debatable conclusion. Examples include Mühlen's identification of the conciliar pneumatology with his own earlier work and both Congar's (initially) almost exclusively positive and Nissiotis' almost exclusively negative assessments of the conciliar pneumatology. In my work, I will try to steer away from methodological confusion by juxtaposing distinct hermeneutical approaches.

Methodological transparency is all the more important since, thirdly, there is a wealth of hermeneutical possibilities, for example in the way one structures the various elements of the reflection. Mullins started with redaction history, followed by the text itself, to conclude with theological history. This seems inspired by a combination of historical consciousness – the editing preceded the text – and priority of the text above theological-historical context. By contrast, Maraldi started with theological history, followed by redaction history, to conclude with the text itself. This in turn seems inspired by chronology. Further, some authors take the principle of intertextuality seriously, by reading more than one document. As the title of her article illustrated, Boulding studied "the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the documents of Vatican II". This principle may be extended theologically, beyond the conciliar texts, as Maraldi did when he related *Lumen gentium*'s

---

<sup>121</sup> Ph. Roy, *Bibliographie du Concile Vatican II* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2012). For *Lumen gentium*, see 182-262 (titles 2330 and 2331 are the same work), cf. the contributions numbered as 1565, 1579, 1607, 1609, 1644, 1657, 1662, 1717, 1762, 1794, 1859, 1896, 1908, 1951, 1998, 2066, 2067 (Pentecost), 2084, 2259, 2260, 2319, 2330. Similarly, he counted one hundred and fifty-eight articles and books on *Dei verbum*, only four of which have the word Trinity or Holy Spirit in their title, see 149-163 and the contributions numbered as 1242, 1253, 1295, and 1308.



pneumatology to ecclesiology and revelation theology. And we have also seen that some, notably Vance-Trembath, did not explore pneumatology on the basis of the text, but rather on the basis of implicitly-pneumatological dynamics. Hermeneutical theorists point to still more possibilities than the ones mentioned in this chapter and highlighted just now. O'Malley, the first to highlight the significance of style, complained in 1987, "I must say that I continue to be surprised at how little study has been directed to the rhetoric of the Council, when we have learned over and over again that content cannot be divorced from style or literary form".<sup>122</sup> Rush includes other aspects in his list, observing that "issues of genre, rhetoric, style, structure, intratextuality, and intertextuality become important in the interpretative process".<sup>123</sup>

This long third observation invites to a certain modesty, even humility. The amount of valuable hermeneutical angles and details is overwhelming. As covering all aspects is impossible, some methodological limitations are needed. Of the four possible hermeneutical approaches, I will only focus on the first three, leaving reception hermeneutics, except for an evaluation of the findings on the basis of these approaches. In addition, I structure these types in a way that is different from Mullins and Maraldi. Starting with the text itself and operating with widening circles, I will first delve into the text, then explore its redaction history, to conclude with theological-historical context. As I explained in the chapter one, the underlying conviction is that the text has a certain priority yet cannot be understood properly without the respective redaction-historical and theological-historical contexts. Moreover, I will focus on one document instead of all Council documents or the four Constitutions, and when delving into the text, I will focus on a few textual aspects. These two choices are based on the preference for depth over breadth. For although both restrictions seriously limit the breadth of my project, precisely thereby they allow for something which is much needed, namely detailed fundamental research of the conciliar pneumatology.

---

<sup>122</sup> J. O'Malley, "Vatican II: Historical Perspectives on its Uniqueness and Interpretation", J. O'Malley, *Tradition and Transition: Historical Perspectives on Vatican II* (Wilmington: M. Glazier, 1989), 19-31, at 26. First published in L. Richard, D. Harrington (eds.), *Vatican II. The Unfinished Agenda: A Look to the Future* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987). Quoted in Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II*, 37-38. Cf. the extensive reflection on "Genre, Form, Content, Values" in J. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 43-52. Around the same time, O'Malley's Jesuit confrère Christoph Théobald has developed the notion of style in relation to the Christian faith in general, see C. Théobald, *Le Christianisme comme style. Une manière de faire de la théologie en post-modernité*, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2007). Cf. the collection of essays on the Council and its style edited by J. Famée, *Vatican II comme style. L'herméneutique théologique du Concile* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012) and Henk Witte's valedictory lecture, Witte, *De ignatiaanse 'manier van doen' als inspiratie bij het verstaan van Vaticanum II*.

<sup>123</sup> See Rush, *Vatican II*, chapter "A Hermeneutics of the Texts", 35-51, at 36.

## Chapter 2

### *Lumen Gentium*. An Introduction

As I explained in the introduction to the first part of this thesis, this chapter is introductory too. Its objective is to acknowledge the nature of the document under consideration. Since *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology does not stand on its own, but is developed within the context of a "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church", I introduce in this chapter *Lumen gentium*'s vision of the Church. What is the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church's content, that is, how does it view the Church? How have the Constitution and its view of the Church developed? And how does the Constitution's ecclesiology relate to its theological-historical context? These questions echo the hermeneutical principles discussed in the General Introduction: the complementarity between the various approaches distinguished by Rush; my view that the text itself should be the starting point; the choice to work in widening circles; and the decision to leave out reception.

Therefore, I first explore the text itself (chapter 2.1). How does *Lumen gentium* conceive the Church? How is the text structured? What are leading ideas? In the second section, I introduce *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology further by sketching its redaction history (chapter 2.2). Finally, I situate *Lumen gentium* in its theological-historical context (chapter 2.3).

As this is meant to be an introduction, I cannot examine these topics in too much depth and I cannot take into account all the literature.<sup>124</sup> I will especially consult the official minutes in the *Acta synodalia*; the redaction-historical introduction by Gerard Philips, the main editor of *Lumen gentium*, who also published a two-volume commentary on the text;<sup>125</sup> the extensive, five-volume handbook *History of Vatican II* that Alberigo and Komonchak published in the years 1995 to 2006;<sup>126</sup> and several important commentaries on preconciliar ecclesiology.

#### **2.1 *Lumen Gentium*'s Ecclesiology. The Church in Eight Parts**

How does *Lumen gentium* conceive the Church? According to Philips, its eight chapters provide us with as many approaches to the Church, that together constitute a synthetic ecclesiology with a

---

<sup>124</sup> For an overview of recent literature, see the overview article P. De Mey, "Auf dem Weg zu einer konkreten Communio-Gestalt der Kirche. 50 Jahre *Lumen Gentium*", *Theologische Revue* 108 (2012/5), 355-374.

<sup>125</sup> G. Philips, "Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche «*Lumen gentium*»", Vorgrimler (ed.), *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 139-155. The piece was also published in French as "La Constitution dogmatique sur l'Église *Lumen Gentium*", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* 42 (1966), 5-39.

<sup>126</sup> Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*.

coherent “4 times 2” structure.<sup>127</sup> The two opening chapters focus on the mystery of the Church, both as a transcendent reality or mystery (chapter one) and as the historical phenomenon of the faithful gathered into the Pilgrim People of God (chapter two).<sup>128</sup> The next two chapters highlight the “organic structure of the Church”: a communion of bishops (chapter three) and laity (chapter four).<sup>129</sup> *Lumen gentium* then turns to the “purpose” (*finem*) of the Church, namely the holiness that all are called to (chapter five), and which is visualized in a special way by the religious (chapter six).<sup>130</sup> Finally, the Church’s eschatological aspect is considered, especially her pilgrimage to eschatological completion and the saints (chapter seven), as well as Mary (chapter eight). Thus in its sixty-nine articles, structured in eight parts, *Lumen gentium*’s offers a multi-faceted ecclesiology. I will briefly comment on the various parts and sections.

(1) As the title of the first chapter indicates, *Lumen gentium* views the Church firstly as a mystery in the sense of a “divine, transcendent salvific reality which is somehow visibly revealed”.<sup>131</sup> Initially, the chapter develops this view in a Christological manner. According to Philips, “this explicit christocentrism characterises the whole reflection”.<sup>132</sup> LG 1’s opening line explains that the Church depends on Christ, who is the light of the peoples, and that the Church is called to pass it on. In the next line, the metaphor “sacrament” is introduced to explain the relationship between Christ and the Church further: “the Church is in Christ as a sacrament or sign and instrument both of intimate union with God and of the unity of all humanity” (LG 1).<sup>133</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Philips summarizes the document’s structure in Philips, “Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche”, 152-153. Cf.: “Im jetzigen Aufbau, wie er sich aus den Arbeiten (of the Council, JM) ergab, gehören immer zwei Kapiteln in unbestreitbarer logischer Verbindung zusammen”, at 152. The *Ordinatio totius schematis* in the “Relatio adiuncta de problemate ordinationis materiae” is remarkably similar, see AS III/1, 334-335.

<sup>128</sup> “Die beiden ersten (chapters, JM) bringen die Lehre über das Geheimnis der Kirche, sowohl in deren transzendenter Dimension als auch in ihrer geschichtlichen Verwirklichung, und geben exakt die fundamentalen Eigentümlichkeiten der Heilsgemeinschaft an”, Philips, “Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche”, 152.

<sup>129</sup> Philips, “Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche”, 152.

<sup>130</sup> “Ulterius post expositionem de «constitutione hierarchica», Schema animum diserte vertit ad «finem» ab Ecclesia intentum”, AS III/1, 305, cf. Philips, “Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche”.

<sup>131</sup> See the comment on the title in the “Relatio”: “Vox «mysterium» non simpliciter indicat aliquid incognoscibile aut abstrusum, sed (...) designat realitatem divinam transcendentem et salvificam, quae aliquo modo visibili revelatur et manifestatur”, AS III/1, 170.

<sup>132</sup> Philips, *L’Église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 71, “Dès l’exorde, la Constitution sur l’Église adopte explicitement une perspective Christocentrique, perspective qui ne cessera pas un instant de s’affirmer tout au long de l’exposé”. Philips considered LG 1 as a general “Introduction”, apart from the first chapter. The *Acta* reveal that it had functioned thus in the second Schema, AS II/1, 215-216, cf. the third Schema AS III/1, 158-159, yet in the final text LG 1 is the opening article of the first chapter, AS III/8, 784.

<sup>133</sup> Quotes from *Lumen gentium* in English are based on the translation by Clarence Gallagher, that I occasionally modify to have a more literal translation, see N. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990), vol. 2, 849-898.

The next articles complement the christocentric approach by describing the Church in a trinitarian framework. LG 2 credits the Father with the plan of salvation that the Church is part of, LG 3 explains that Christ executes the Father's plan and founds the Church, and LG 4 develops the Spirit's role in the Church. In the concluding lines of his commentary on the first chapter, Philips took up the double, both christological and trinitarian understanding of the Church when he explained that *Lumen gentium* sees the Church as a theological reality, "prolongement du mystère trinitaire et de l'Incarnation rédemptrice".<sup>134</sup>

The chapter then gently turns the perspective towards the Church by introducing the Kingdom of God, that the Church is called and sent to preach and to promote (LG 5) and by evoking several Church-related images from Scripture (LG 6-7). Finally, the chapter introduces the notion of the double, historical and transcendent reality of the Church (LG 8) and, explicating that the mystery of the Church has a concrete historical and institutional reality, thereby prepares for chapters three and four.<sup>135</sup>

(2) The second chapter describes the Church's theological reality further, this time in more historical terms, by introducing the metaphor of the People of God on pilgrimage. Philips explained that this chapter belongs together with the first chapter: "here, in the second part of the diptych formed by chapters one and two, the mystery of the one Church is given, as it were, its human dimension, its appearance and spreading in this world and in this time"; accordingly, it could have been entitled "The historical universality (*algemeenheid*) of the Church".<sup>136</sup>

The opening article LG 9 introduces both aspects of the metaphor. The Church consists of the faithful gathered together in the Church as the People of God. That people is "on pilgrimage", from the times of the people of Israel and its wandering through the desert until the end of time. The

---

<sup>134</sup> Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 126. His christocentric preference is also clear from the final phrase of his commentary of the first chapter, which speaks of "le mystère central du Christ", at 126.

<sup>135</sup> Originally, the first chapter prepared for and was followed immediately by a chapter on the hierarchy. That is still visible in the "Relationes de singulis numeris" to Schema 3, that consider LG 8 as "conclusion of the treatise on the mystery of the Church", so that the next chapter can take up the hierarchical aspect of the Church, *AS* III/1, 176. Philips comments more fittingly that LG 8 "nous a ramenés sur la terre ferme" (Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 128), that is, the reflection on the Church will now highlight the historical dimension of its mysterious reality, viz. the people of God. Cf. the following footnote.

<sup>136</sup> Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 127, "Le second volet du dyptique formé par les chapitres I et II présente l'image du mystère de l'Église dans sa dimension humaine, son apparition et son expansion dans le monde et dans le temps. On pourrait tout aussi bien lui donner comme titre: *De la catholicité historique de l'Église* (cf. Dutch, *Van de historische algemeenheid der Kerk*, JM)". In its defence of the new table of content (with the people of God after the mystery of the Church and before the hierarchy), the "Relatio generalis" to the second chapter betrays a similar view. It explains that the first chapter deals with the Church in its full theological breadth ("in tota sua amplitudine ab initio creationis in proposito Dei, usque ad consummationem coelestem"), with the second considering its historical dimension ("de eodem ipso mysterio quatenus «inter tempora»", cf. "vitam Ecclesiae in hoc tempore intermedio"), *AS* III/1, 210.

distinction between hierarchy and laity is not dropped, but the Council explicitly wishes to consider the whole of the Church or its “communion”,<sup>137</sup> before considering its parts.

The common identity of the faithful, gathered into the people of God is further specified in LG 10-12. The faithful are said to share in Christ’s royal priesthood (LG 10), which is exercised especially in the sacraments and virtues (LG 11), and in Christ’s prophetic office, in particular by their prophetic *sensus fidei* and by charisms, the special gifts that the Spirit leads the Church with (LG 12). Thus LG 12 seems to complement the priestly element with the prophetic one.<sup>138</sup>

Finally, the people of God is discussed in a more universal perspective. According to Philips, LG 13 serves as a hinge or “charnière” to the next issue by discussing the Catholic Church’s unity in diversity, and by raising the question who belongs to the Church.<sup>139</sup> LG 14 is consecrated to membership, LG 15 to relations to non-Catholic Christians, LG 16 to non-Christian faithful, and LG 17 to non-believers.

(3) After the first two, fundamental chapters, *Lumen gentium* turns to the Church as a hierarchically structured organisation.<sup>140</sup> Chapter three considers “the hierarchical constitution of the Church, and in particular on the episcopate”, as the title reads. The chapter focuses indeed on the office of the bishop, whose function is however always related to the Pope (LG 18). In the first place, the origin of the episcopate is traced back to Christ and the college of the apostles, whom the bishops succeed (LG 19-20). Therefore, having received the gift of the Holy Spirit through ordination, bishops represent Christ (LG 21). In the second place, the chapter addresses the topic of collegiality, both

---

<sup>137</sup> See Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 130, cf. his comment on the new structure, at 129-130. Similarly, the “Relatio generalis” to the second chapter states that the hierarchy and laity belong to the one people of God, and that its “totality” should be treated first, in order to better understand the distinctive roles, *AS III/1*, 209-210, reasons 1 and 2.

<sup>138</sup> It should be pointed out that LG 10-12 does not mention the threefold office of priest, prophet and king. The unofficial working titles of the last draft, Schema 3, suggest these sections were conceived within the framework of the priestly people, which, as Ormond Rush showed, was another, “competing” category, O. Rush, “The Offices of Christ, *Lumen Gentium* and the People’s Sense of the Faith”, *Pacifica. Australian Theological Studies* 16 (2003), 137-152. Cf. his claim that “the logical tension between the rubric of priesthood as the overarching category and the three offices (...) remains in the final documents”, at 146. Cf. the heading of article 24 according to the “Nova ordinatio capitum ab E. Card. Suenens proposita” in preparation of Schema 2— this article 24 is the source for LG 12 — that reads “on the universal priesthood, and also (*necnon*) on the sense of faith and the charisms of the Christians”, *AS II/1*, 331, as well as the titles of the three sections in Schema 3, *AS III/1*, 182, 183, 185. Interestingly in this regard, Philips does not mention the *munus triplex* in one of his earliest presentations of the chapter on the people of God (from June/July 1964), see Centre for the Study of the Second Vatican Council (hereafter CSVII), Philips Archive, no. 1192, at 4; this is a translation of G. Philips “Het schema over de Kerk (op het tweede Vatikaans Concilie)”, *De maand. Algemeen tijdschrift voor sociale en culturele bezinning* 7 (juni/juli 1964), 330-340. However, in chapter four, on the laity, *Lumen gentium* does refer to the threefold office, see e.g. LG 31’s statement that the lay-faithful “have been in their own way made sharers in Christ’s priestly, prophetic, and royal office (*munus*)”; see also Philips’ article, at 7-9.

<sup>139</sup> Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 128, cf. “Est ergo haec paragraphus quasi cardo vel vinculum inter duas partes”, *AS III/1*, 200.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 221.

amongst bishops and with the Pope (LG 22-23). Significantly, the document ties together the sacramental ordination and the consideration of the bishops as a college or “hierarchical communion” (*hierarchica communio*), only then to focus on the bishop by himself (LG 24),<sup>141</sup> zooming in on his triple ministry of teaching, sanctifying, and governing (LG 25-27). The discussion of sanctifying in fact also deals with the issue of the local Church, as a complement to the universal Church.<sup>142</sup> Finally, the other hierarchical ministries of the priest and the deacon are discussed (LG 27-28).

During the Council, especially the issue of collegiality gave rise to intense discussions, as some feared that papal authority was diluted. Ultimately, Paul VI intervened and issued a *Nota explicativa praevia*, which was to guide the interpretations of especially the issue of collegiality.<sup>143</sup>

(4) The chapter on the laity complements chapter three, as “sans cette description, l’exposé sur les pasteurs et docteurs demeure dans le vague”, thus Philips.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, the introductory article LG 30 states that the hierarchy should acknowledge and appreciate the shared responsibility for the salvation of the world. According to Philips, the chapter’s most important sentence is that “the laity, by their very vocation, seek the kingdom of God by engaging in temporal affairs and by ordering them according to the plan of God” (LG 31),<sup>145</sup> as this sentence captures the religious depth of the laity’s vocation and shows that it is not at odds with the hierarchy. After further reflection on the specific relationships between hierarchy and laity (LG 32), the laity’s own vocation is described in a more concrete manner (LG 33) as well as with more theological depth, namely as a sharing in the priestly, prophetic and royal office of Christ (LG 34-36). The chapter ends with a practical reflection on the relationship of laity and hierarchy (LG 37), and with a short concluding article (LG 38).

(5) The next chapters recall that the ultimate goal of the Church is holiness (chapter five), with special consideration of the religious (chapter six). The calling of all the faithful to holiness discussed in these chapters could be interpreted as a spiritual-practical follow-up to the theological framework of the opening chapters. After an introduction of the Church’s “ontological” holiness in Christ and the concrete calling following from it (LG 39),<sup>146</sup> *Lumen gentium* further elaborates the universal calling

<sup>141</sup> See LG 21, LG 22, cf. “communio apostolica” in LG 24.

<sup>142</sup> Philips excuses the somewhat strange place of the discussion on the local Church by referring to the text’s redaction history, see Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 338-339.

<sup>143</sup> For an introduction to the complex background of the *Nota* and its content, see L.A. Tagle, “The «Black Week» of Vatican II (November 14-21 1964)”, Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 4, 387-452, especially 417-445; L. Declerck, M. Lamberigts, “De «Zwarte Week» (Settimane nera) van de derde concilietijd (14-21 november 1964)”, *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 44 (2014), 403-434.

<sup>144</sup> Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 8-9, cf. a few lines earlier, “L’Introduction manifeste d’emblée que le chapitre IV constitue un tout avec le précédent chapitre III”.

<sup>145</sup> Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 17, “Nous voici arrivés à la phrase qui est, à notre avis, la plus importante de tout le chapitre et en constitue comme la clef de voûte.”. The “Relationes de singulis numeris” to this article states in similar yet more subdued terms that “Multi Patres postulaverunt ampliorem descriptionem Laici, et in specie quod indoles saecularis eius peculiariter in lucem adduceretur”, *AS III/1*, 282.

<sup>146</sup> *AS III/1*, 301.

to holiness of the faithful (LG 40) and sketches its manifold concrete contexts and expressions, especially love (LG 41-42).<sup>147</sup>

(6) According to Philips, the advantage of treating the religious in a separate chapter is that the universal calling to holiness does not serve as an introduction to a presumed fuller holiness of the religious.<sup>148</sup> Indeed, the final article of chapter five mentions religious vows as one of the expressions of holiness, and chapter six elaborates these.<sup>149</sup> This chapter considers the evangelical counsels and the various forms of religious life as a divine gift to the Church (LG 43). They help the religious to serve the Church and to witness to God (LG 44), under the moderation of the hierarchy (LG 45). The religious are praised for their witness to Christ and their contribution to the Kingdom of God (LG 46),<sup>150</sup> after which the chapter concludes with a final exhortation (LG 47).

(7) According to the final chapters, the Church finds its completion only at the end of time, in “die Gemeinschaft der Heiligen in der Herrlichkeit, in der die Jungfrau, Mutter Christi und Mutter der Christen, einen hervorragenden Platz einnimmt”.<sup>151</sup> Although the introduction of the topic of the eschatology of the Church and the saints in chapter seven owes to a quite particular initiative – John XXIII wished the Council to treat the topic of the saints and requested a document on it – it fortuitously complements *Lumen gentium*.<sup>152</sup> For after *Lumen gentium* has addressed the Church’ mysterious, both transcendent and historical reality (chapters one and two), her concrete manifestation (chapters three and four) and her goal (chapters five and six), the Consitution “most naturally” turns to the Church’s eschatological destination.<sup>153</sup> Thus the last two chapters fit well in Philips’ 4 times 2 structure.

The chapter on “The Eschatological Character of the Pilgrim Church and her Unity with the Heavenly Church” returns to the notion of the people of God on pilgrimage, yet now from the

---

<sup>147</sup> Cf. the “Relationes de singulis numeris”: “(the opening sentence of LG 42) agit de principali et necessaria via ad sanctitatem, qui est caritas, in qua omnes aliae viae includuntur et superantur”, *AS* III/1, 306.

<sup>148</sup> Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 98, cf.: “(...) le risque de voir dans le chapitre sur l’appel universel à la perfection un simple préambule à la description des voies, plus élevées, de la vie religieuse”.

<sup>149</sup> For what follows, cf. the explanation of the content and logic of the chapter in the “Relatio generalis” on chapters five and six in *AS* III/1, 327-329 as well as the “Relationes de singulis numeris”, *AS* III/1, 316-322.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. the “Relationes de singulis numeris”: “Hic agitur de *affirmanda aestimatione* pro statu religioso, sive ex parte ipsorum religiosorum, sive ex parte aliorum”, *AS* III/1, 320.

<sup>151</sup> Philips, “Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche”, 152-153. Cf. the “Relatio” on this chapter in *AS* III/5, 57, “In specie notatum est quod hoc Caput (VII) feliciter et necessario (sic) complet totam Constitutionem «De Ecclesia»”. The “Relatio” notes that several fathers observed that chapter seven provided for a logical transition to chapter VIII: “a pluribus in luce positum est hoc Caput optimum transitum praebet ad Caput VIII de Beata Maria Virgine”, 63.

<sup>152</sup> See Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 161-162. Cf. *AS* III/1, 351, “Hoc caput introductum est secundum voluntatem S.P. Ioannes XXIII ... S.P. Paulus VI hoc intentum approbavit ...”. For more details, see the later chapter on LG 48 (chapter 5).

<sup>153</sup> Philips, “Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche”, 152-153.

perspective of its ultimate reality.<sup>154</sup> LG 48, the opening article of the chapter, describes the Church as situating herself between ‘already’ and ‘not yet’.<sup>155</sup> In this article, the Christological, ecclesiological, and practical dimensions of eschatology are elaborated with due consideration of the Holy Spirit. LG 49 turns to the saints, who, living in heaven, intercede for the Church on earth. According to Philips, here we once more meet the Church as *communio*, this time not as a *communio* of bishops or of the hierarchy and the laity, but a *communio* of the heavenly and the earthly Church.<sup>156</sup> LG 50 further elaborates this *communio* with the saints, after which the final article LG 51 offers some practical points and a theological and doxological conclusion.

(8) The final chapter on Mary, initially conceived as a separate document, is somewhat loosely connected to the Constitution on the Church.<sup>157</sup> This chapter has a complex history. Nonetheless, with some good will, the chapter may be seen as further elaboration of the eschatological nature of the Church and the communion with the saints in heaven. Or, as the explanation of the structure of the document in the *Acta* suggests, this chapter could be considered as the “recapitulation” and “coronation” of the topic of the mystery of the Church.<sup>158</sup>

With nineteen articles, the chapter is *Lumen gentium*’s longest chapter. It is itself subdivided in subchapters. The introduction recalls God’s plan of salvation in Christ (LG 52), highlights Mary’s role as mother of Christ (LG 53), and states the double intention of the chapter: delving into Mary’s role in salvation history, and explaining the duty of the faithful towards Mary (LG 54). The exploration of Mary’s role in salvation history starts from her prefiguration in the Old Testament (LG 55) and elaborates her place in the New Covenant by her *fiat* at the annunciation (LG 56), her union with the infant and child Jesus (LG 57), her various appearances in Jesus’s ministry (LG 58), and her prayer for the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (LG 59). The second topic is Mary’s role in the Church.<sup>159</sup> Having recalled that Christ is our unique mediator (LG 60) the text deliberately refrained from stating that she is to be called mediatrix.<sup>160</sup> Next follows a quick summary of Mary’s role during

<sup>154</sup> For practical reasons, I will shorten this to “the Eschatology of the Church and the Saints”.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 167, “L’exposé que nous entreprenons (LG 48 B, JM) pourrait se qualifier de noyau central du thème eschatologique: nous nous trouvons au point de contact où le « déjà maintenant » et le « pas encore », ou, en d’autres termes, le présent et l’avenir s’entrecoupent”.

<sup>156</sup> See Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 181, “Nous voici donc revenus de toute évidence à l’Église du Christ sous son aspect de *Communio* dans laquelle la préoccupation fraternelle se répand surtout sur les faibles (= those on earth, JM)”.

<sup>157</sup> Philips admitted as much, cf. “Nous pouvons donc concéder tranquillement que le sujet du chapitre VIII dépasse jusqu’à un certain point le thème de l’Église, en ce sens que cet exposé se rattache explicitement au mystère du Christ comme à son unique point de départ”, Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 216.

<sup>158</sup> “Relatio adiuncta de problemate ordinationis materiae”, *AS* III/1, 329-335, at 335, “In quo finali capite (on Mary, JM), coronidis instar, tota expositio de mysterio Ecclesiae velut recapitulatur”.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. “Relationes de singulis numeris”, *AS* III/1, 370, “Hic incipit *secunda pars principalior* expositionis de Beata, scilicet de eius relatione ad Ecclesiam”.

<sup>160</sup> For background, see C. Antonelli, *Il dibattito su Maria nel Concilio Vaticano II. Percorso redazionale sulla base di nuovi documenti di archivio*, pref. L. Declerck (Padova: Messaggero di Sant’ Antonio, 2009).



Christ's life (LG 61), the text goes on to explain that Mary's motherly role continues till the end of time (LG 62). For the Church, this means that, like Mary, she too is called to keep her virginity and to be a mother (LG 63-64) and to imitate Mary's example by her virtues (LG 65). Thirdly, *Lumen gentium* reflects briefly on the proper veneration of Mary (LG 66-67), after which LG 68-69 conclude the chapter and the Constitution with the symbolic final words "for the glory of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity".

In conclusion, how does *Lumen gentium* conceive the Church? Arguably, the document's ecclesiology is multi-faceted. *Lumen gentium* considers the Church from various, complementary perspectives. She is conceived at the same time as mystery and people of God, and also, less prominently, as sacrament and mystical body (chapters one and two). Her historical reality is both considered in a general theological manner (chapter two) and in a concrete, organisational manner (chapters three and four). Her transcendent dimension is both the starting point for conceiving the Church (chapter one) and her destination, to be reached as much as possible in her concrete trajectory through time (chapter seven, cf. chapter five and eight).

Commentators differ in identifying the core of *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology. Philips identified five, partly overlapping common threads or "lignes de force": mystery, history, community, person and dynamism.<sup>161</sup> He considered *Lumen gentium* as a "synthèse centrée sur le mystère" of Christ and the Trinity, as its cohesion stems from its theological, both trinitarian and christocentric framework, for example in the Christological introduction LG 1 and the subsequent trinitarian one in LG 2-4.<sup>162</sup> Another important common thread is the Church's historical dimension. In contrast with static or triumphalistic views of the Church, *Lumen gentium* conceived the Church as the people of God on pilgrimage, especially in chapters two and seven.<sup>163</sup> According to Philips, *Lumen gentium* is further inspired by both the idea of community and the human person. Therefore, the Church is understood as made up of individual faithful, gathered together in the people of God, and therefore, too, the third chapter speaks at considerable length about the episcopal collegiality.

Other experts have slightly different interpretations. The Belgian theologian Charles Moeller, closely involved in the elaboration of *Lumen gentium*,<sup>164</sup> listed three key topics: mystery or sacrament, collegiality of laity and ministers, and holiness. The last topic he also linked to charisms and

---

<sup>161</sup> He spoke about "power lines" (*krachtlijnen*, *lignes de force*) and about "the spirit" of the text, which he considered "both new and very traditional". Philips intuitively sketches rather than carefully elaborates these lines, see Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 323-342, at 323. He also mentioned "ressourcement" and "openness", yet these seem methodological, not ecclesiological common threads.

<sup>162</sup> Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 328 (subtitle), cf. 328-330.

<sup>163</sup> See Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 331-332.

<sup>164</sup> Moeller (1912-1986), an ecumenically involved theologian from Leuven, became a Council *peritus* after the first Period. He was involved amongst others in the elaboration of *Unitatis redintegratio* and *Gaudium et spes*. See L. Declerck, "Moeller, Charles", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 194.

eschatology.<sup>165</sup> Congar listed five themes: sacrament of salvation, people of God, hierarchy as service, collegiality, and the local church.<sup>166</sup> In another reflection, he also included the Church's historic reality, and therefore its imperfection and its eschatological completion, as well as the positive attitude to non-Catholic Christians.<sup>167</sup> In the introduction to the 1966 German translation of *Lumen gentium*, the German *peritus* Joseph Ratzinger focused on two essential images, body of Christ and people of God. According to Ratzinger, the former indicates the Church's meaning, the second her provisional, history-bound situation. Ratzinger also reflected on the laity, ecumenism, episcopal collegiality and eschatology, and concluded with a short reference to Trinity as the foundational context for ecclesiology.<sup>168</sup>

Surely, additional as well as more recent interpretations could be added, and these could be critically evaluated.<sup>169</sup> For our research, it is sufficient to have a first impression of the structure of the text; to acknowledge that it is a multi-faceted text; and to know of the variety of interpretations that is available.

---

<sup>165</sup> See C. Moeller, "Het rijpen van de ideeën bij de voorbereiding van de constitutie", Baraúna (ed.), *De Kerk van Vaticanum II*, vol. 1, 156-192, cf. 156: "Toch ligt deze Constitutie nu voor ons met kennelijk drie hoofdmomenten, waarom in de ecclesiologie alles draait. Het eerste is de Kerk als mysterie, het oersacrament van de eenheid der wereld in het volk Gods, het tweede hiërarchische structuur van de Kerk, waar leken en bedienaren elkaar ontmoeten in het mysterie der collegialiteit; het derde moment ten slotte is dat van de heiligheid, de charismatische structuur van de Kerk, waarvan de hemelse voltooiing de eschatologische en pneumatische dimensie van de ecclesiologie openbaart".

<sup>166</sup> Congar opens his book *Un peuple messianique. L'Église, sacrement du salut. Salut et libération* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1975) with the claim that "Le thème de l'Église-Sacrement du Salut est un de ceux qui caractérisent la vision que le Concile s'est formée et nous propose de l'Église", at 13, cf. 13-25. In a footnote, he added that "Il partage ce privilège avec les thèmes: peuple de Dieu, hiérarchie-service, collégialité, Église particulière".

<sup>167</sup> Y. Congar, *Die Lehre von der Kirche. Vom Abenländischen Schisma bis zur Gegenwart* (Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte, Band III, vol. 3d) (Freiburg: Herder, 1971), 123-126.

<sup>168</sup> See J. Ratzinger, "Einleitung", *Dogmatische Konstitution über die Kirche. Authentischer lateinischer Text. Deutsche Übersetzung im Auftrag der deutschen Bischöfe. Mit einer Einleitung von Joseph Ratzinger* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1966), 7-19. Cf.: "Unter den vielen Bildern für Kirche (...) nehmen zwei eine eindeutig vorrangige Stellung ein: das Verständnis der Kirche als Leib Christi und dasjenige als Volk Gottes", and, "das Wort vom Leib Christ (brings) die positive Sinnfülle von Kirche zum Ausdruck, während demgegenüber ihre Benennung als «Volk Gottes» (...) aufmerksam macht auf die Vorläufigkeit, die ihr anhaftet, solange diese Weltzeit dauert", Ratzinger, "Einleitung", 9 and 11.

<sup>169</sup> For example, in response to Moeller, one could point out that the shared calling to holiness has been an important rediscovery indeed, but that the letter of the text of *Lumen gentium* gives little reason for considering it a major element in its ecclesiology. Further, Congar seems to overestimate the significance of the idea of the hierarchy as service, the notion of the local Church and the positive attitude to other Christians; as far as the letter of the text is concerned, these are not dominant topics in *Lumen gentium*. Finally, from the perspective both of the text itself and its redaction-historical development, Ratzinger's focus on the mystical body is unconvincing.

## 2.2 *Lumen Gentium*'s Redaction History. A Play in Six Acts

*Lumen gentium*, that so far was read synchronically, is also the fruit of an eventful redaction history. Therefore, I will in this section introduce the document further by sketching its development. As that development consists of three times of preparation plus three times of actual meetings that were at times eventful, it may be called a Play in Six Acts. What happened during these times? How did the reflection on the Church develop? As this is meant to be an introduction, I will try to be both brief and comprehensive and rely especially on the *Acta synodalia* and the detailed manual edited by Alberigo and Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*.

### Act One – Towards Schema 1

Act one consists in fact of two periods. Pope John XXIII's unexpected announcement of a Council on January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1959 was followed by the so-called Antepreparatory Period, during which the curial offices, bishops, Catholic universities, and religious were invited to share their thoughts, as "these will be most useful in preparing the topics to be discussed at the Council", thus the letter of invitation.<sup>170</sup> The answers, stored in twelve volumes of the *Acta et documenta antepreparatoria* series (*ADA*), testify that ecclesiology, and especially the bishop, was one of the key interests.<sup>171</sup> In the light of Vatican I's unfinished discussion on the hierarchy and the intense ecclesiological reflection in the first half of the twentieth century, this should not come as a surprise. The Antepreparatory Period ended

---

<sup>170</sup> For the letter, sent on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1959, see *Acta et documenta Concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando; Series prima (antepreparatoria)* (Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1960-1961), henceforth abbreviated as *ADA*, vol. II/1, x-xi. According to the French church historian Étienne Fouilloux, John XXIII was personally responsible for the open nature of the letter (which was very different from the earlier questionnaire). For full text of the letter and background, see E. Fouilloux, "The Antepreparatory Phase: the Slow Emergence From Inertia (January, 1959 – October, 1962)", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1, 55-166, at 92-94. John XXIII, born Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli (1881-1963), was secretary to the bishop of Bergamo (Italy) and professor of church history, patrology and apologetics at the diocesan seminary. From 1925 onwards, he started a career in the diplomatic service of the Vatican, that brought him in Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece, Istanbul and Paris. Created a cardinal in 1953, he became the patriarch of Venice, to be elected the successor to Pius XII on October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1958. See K. Schelkens, J. Mettepenningen, "Johannes XXIII", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 143-145.

<sup>171</sup> *ADA*, vol. II/1-8 (with the responses of the bishops), vol. III (with the responses of the Curial congregations), and vol. IV/1-3 (with the responses of the Catholic universities and faculties). The material of volume II was summarised in the *Conspectus Analyticus*, see *ADA* Appendices I-II. The material on the Church was divided over three chapters, "De Ecclesia", "De Ecclesia et Statu", "De Sociali Doctrina Ecclesiae", *ADA*, App. I, 35-118. Thirteen of the twenty-eight sections in the chapter on the Church dealt with the Pope, the bishop, authority and *potestas*, see the Index, at 795-796. Cf. Fouilloux's observation that "the doctrinal article (of the *Conspectus*, JM) deals at great length with the Church", Fouilloux, "The Antepreparatory Phase: the Slow Emergence From Inertia", 143. He also observed that the answers were organised according to the descending order characteristic of the time: "from the Pope to the members of the mystical Body, with, of course, the bishops in between; only one entry deals with the relationship of the bishops to their priests".

with a *Conspectus analyticus* of these votes, on the basis of which the Antepreparatory Commission composed a list of about seventy topics to prepare a draft on, with some outlines. In relation to the Church, they decided that “the Constitution on the Catholic Church issued by the First Vatican Council should be completed and perfected, especially with regard to (a) the Mystical Body of Christ, (b) the Episcopate, and (c) the Laity”.<sup>172</sup>

On June 5, 1960, the next, so-called Preparatory Period started. On that day, by means of the *motu proprio* apostolic letter *Superno Dei nutu*, Pope John XXIII established various commissions which he charged to prepare drafts for the future Council.<sup>173</sup> It stated amongst other things that the Preparatory Theological Commission was to draft a text on the Church. The line-up of the commission was entirely prepared by the Congregation for the Holy Office.<sup>174</sup> It consisted of twenty-seven members and an additional twenty-nine consultors, amongst whom two at the time controversial French theologians Congar and Henri de Lubac. At the time, someone suggested that, initially, the number of consultors corresponded to the number of members, namely twenty-seven, and that Congar and De Lubac had been added at the last moment.<sup>175</sup> It was led by the Italian Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, the head of the Holy Office that we now know as the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, with the Dutch Jesuit Sebastiaan Tromp as secretary.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>172</sup> *Acta et documenta Concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando; series secunda (praeparatoria)* (Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1964-1993), abbreviated henceforth as *ADP*, vol. II/1, 408-409. Note the difference between this list and the summary in the *Conspectus*.

<sup>173</sup> John XXIII, “Litterae apostolicae motu proprio datae Superno Dei nutu”, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (AAS)* 52 (1960), 433-437; also in *ADA*, vol. 1, 93-96.

<sup>174</sup> For details, see K. Schelkens, *Catholic Theology of Revelation on the Eve of Vatican II: A Redaction History of the Schema De Fontibus Revelationis (1960-1962)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), chapter two, “The Preparatory Theological Commission”, 55-73.

<sup>175</sup> J.A. Komonchak, “The Preparatory Theological Commission”, published online at <https://jakomonchak.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/preparatory-theological-commission.pdf>, 6-7. Cf. Congar’s hesitations about his appointment: “Nous sommes des *hapax* dans un texte dont le contexte me semble si orienté dans le sens conservateur!”, Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 18 (=July 1960). For a full list of members, see Komonchak, “The Preparatory Theological Commission”, 3-4. For an overview of all commissions and their members, see A. Melloni, G. Turbanti, “The Central Commission and the Preparatory Commissions”, A. Melloni, F. Ruozi, E. Galavotti (eds.), *Vatican II: The Complete History* (New York: Paulist Press, 2015), 58-75.

<sup>176</sup> Ottaviani (1890-1979) was known for his conservatism, cf. his episcopal motto “Semper idem”. From 1959 onwards he was the secretary to the Holy Office (the Pope was the official prefect) and was the president of both the Preparatory Theological Commission and the Doctrinal Commission. See M. Faggioli, “Ottaviani, Alfredo”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 204. According to Roy, Ottaviani was close to the traditionalist *Coetus internationalis Patrum*, see his thesis, *Le coetus internationalis patrum, un groupe d’opposants au sein du Concile Vatican II* (2011), 1653. Tromp (1889-1975), professor at the Gregorian from 1929, was the ghost-writer of Pius XII’s encyclical *Mystici corporis* (1943) and served as consultor to the Holy Office. He was the official secretary of both the Preparatory Theological Commission and the Doctrinal Commission, although from the First Intersession onwards, his role was in fact largely taken over by Gerard Philips. See M. Faggioli, “Tromp, Sebastiaan”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 274-275, cf. von Teuffenbach’s “Biographische Elemente”, von Teuffenbach (ed.),

In fact, the preparation of a document on the Church was largely carried out by a subcommission, led by the French Dominican Marie-Rosaire Gagnebet.<sup>177</sup> For its work, this subcommission made use of various drafts by members and consultants. As the work was laborious,<sup>178</sup> the Council fathers received the text only on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962, when the Council had already been underway for more than a month.

The first draft on the Church, with the opening words *Aeternus unigeniti Pater* (hereafter: Schema 1), had eleven loosely connected chapters.<sup>179</sup> After an introductory chapter on the nature of the Church (1) and membership of the Church (2), the various groups in the Church were discussed: the bishops, especially resident bishops (3-4), the religious and the states of perfection (5), and the laity (6). The schema then turned to the magisterium (7) and reflected on authority and obedience (8), to conclude with the relation between Church and state (9), the necessity to proclaim the gospel (10), and ecumenism (11).

Generally speaking, Schema 1 was institution-orientated and wary of new theological impulses. The Schema highlighted authority, obedience and the magisterium and echoed the identification of the mystical body of Christ and the visible structures of the Roman Catholic Church by Pope Pius XII, in his 1943 encyclical *Mystici corporis*. Nonetheless, particularly the chapter on the laity, drafted by Philips, spoke in a relatively modern manner on the shared responsibility of all the faithful for fulfilling God's plan of salvation, e.g. by appreciating the laity's involvement in the world.

## Act Two – The First Period

On October 11, 1962, the Council fathers gathered for the first time in Saint Peter's Basilica, which had been transformed into a Council hall. They opened the First Period with a solemn papal mass, followed by John XXIII's opening address *Gaudet mater Ecclesia*. John XXIII stated that the Council

---

*Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 1/1, 12-40. Tromp's diary is remarkably factual, at times in the style of minutes, and is therefore a precious source of information, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*.

<sup>177</sup> For the redaction history, see J.A. Komonchak, "The Struggle for the Council during the Preparation of Vatican II (1960-1962)", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1, 167-356, 285-298 and 311-313. Gagnebet (1904-1983), baptised Charles, professor at the Angelicum and collaborator of the Holy Office, was a member of the Preparatory Theological commission as well as the Doctrinal Commission. M. Quisinsky, "Gagnebet, Marie-Rosaire", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 112-113.

<sup>178</sup> For example, the Central Preparatory Commission, which reviewed the document in May and June 1962, after the Preparatory Theological Commission had finished its work, extensively criticised the document. Joseph Komonchak observed that the length of the document, together with its reactions, was no shorter than 197 pages, Komonchak, "The Struggle for the Council during the Preparation of Vatican II (1960-1962)", 311.

<sup>179</sup> For the text, see *AS I/4*, 12-91, with the Schema on Mary at 92-121. The Italian theologian Giuseppe Ruggieri gives a useful summary in G. Ruggieri, "Beyond an Ecclesiology of Polemics: the Debate on the Church", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 281-357, at 285-298.

was to have a pastoral orientation and claimed that its principal aims were to promote and renew the faith, and to foster peace and unity, both amongst Christians and in the whole world.<sup>180</sup>

Two powerful symbolic moments followed. Firstly, on October 13<sup>th</sup>, the Council's first working day, it was scheduled for the Council fathers to vote on the members for the various commissions. Some Council fathers realised the significance of the moment, yet also the impossibility of the task, as they barely knew one another. Audaciously (for against the regulations), Cardinals Achille Liénart and Joseph Frings requested from the table of the presidents to postpone the vote, so that the Council fathers could get to know one another before voting, a request that was granted.<sup>181</sup> This move symbolised that the Council fathers wished to decide for themselves rather than following the Curia.<sup>182</sup> A second moment of symbolic value was the "Message to all Peoples and Nations", issued on October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1962. As an expression of the Council's sympathy with the world and of its concern for justice and peace, it testified precisely to the type of ecclesial attitude that French Dominican Marie-Dominique Chenu, a major initiator for this Message, found lacking in the prepared schemas.<sup>183</sup>

By December 1962, when the Council came to discuss the draft on the Church, it had grown in self-confidence. In particular the debate on the Schema on revelation (*De fontibus revelationis*) between November 14<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> had revealed that disappointment with the prepared drafts was widespread. Appeals to the goals set by John XXIII in his opening address became more prominent and critique more common. When John XXIII decided to remove the Schema from the agenda for

---

<sup>180</sup> Official text in *AS I/1*, 166-175. For a critical edition and translation, see J.A. Komonchak, "Gaudet Mater Ecclesia. Pope John's Opening Speech to the Council", online at <https://jakomonchak.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/john-xxiii-opening-speech.pdf>. For background and literature, see M. Lamberigts, L. Declerck, "Gaudet Mater Ecclesia. Johannes XXIII's openingsrede op het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie", *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 42 (2012), 363-379.

<sup>181</sup> *AS I/1*, 207-208. Note that the Council fathers reacted with repeated *plausus in aula* that made it into the *Acta*. Liénart (1884-1973), bishop of Lille (France) was a member of the Council of Presidents. See A. Raffelt, "Liénart, Achille", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 173-174. Frings (1887-1978), archbishop of Cologne (Germany) and long-time president of the conference of German bishops, was also a member of the Council of Presidents. See C. Carl, N. Trippen, "Frings, Josef", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 110-111.

<sup>182</sup> For background information on preparations for these interventions and confirmation that the Council fathers were aware of the significance of what happened, see A. Riccardi, "The Tumultuous Opening Days of the Council", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 1-67, 26-32 and L. Declerck, M. Lamberigts, "Mgr. J.M. Heuschen en het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie", *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 47 (2017), 5-50, at 7.

<sup>183</sup> The text owes a great deal to the initiative of the French Dominican Marie-Dominique Chenu, see the in-depth study of its origin, with ample documentation, A. Duval, "Le message au monde", E. Fouilloux (ed.), *Vatican II commence. Approches francophones* (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 1993), 105-118. For the text, see *AS I/1*, 230-232.

improvement, even though the required two-third majority had not been reached, the Council realised that it was a place where criticism could not only be voiced but would have a real impact.<sup>184</sup>

The debate on the Church started on December 1<sup>st</sup>. At the official presentation of the text, Cardinal Ottaviani angrily complained that it had already been judged.<sup>185</sup> Indeed, by the time the Council turned its attention to *De Ecclesia*, several critical reflections and alternative texts were available. During the preparatory period, the Secretariat for Christian Unity had repeatedly sent in critical suggestions in relation to the draft on the Church, but in vain, as the Doctrinal Commission jealously guarded its self-declared autonomy in theological matters.<sup>186</sup> Several French and German bishops and theologians had already discussed the theological draft texts and concluded that they were not good.<sup>187</sup> In addition, various alternative drafts were available or under construction. Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens, archbishop of Malines-Bruxelles (Belgium) and a member of the Central Preparatory Commission,<sup>188</sup> had requested Philips to draft an alternative text on the Church, which by late November 1962 was available.<sup>189</sup> For on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962, having learned of the existence of the

---

<sup>184</sup> On November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1,368 Council fathers voted for improving the Schema; the number required for a two-third majority was 1,473. The next day, John XXIII intervened and announced that the outcome of the vote meant that the Schema needed to be improved. For background, see Schelkens, *Catholic Theology of Revelation on the Eve of Vatican II*, 265-273. Cf. G. Ruggieri's evaluation that "the period from November 14 to December 8, and especially the week of November 14-21, which was devoted to discussion of the schema on the sources of revelation, represented a turning point that was decisive for the future of the Council", Ruggieri, "The First Doctrinal Clash", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 233-266, 233. Cf. also J. Wicks, "Vatican II Taking Hold of Its (and Pope John's) Council Goals, September 1962-May 196", *Josephinum Journal of Theology* 19/1 (2012), 172-186, especially "Four Crucial Days of Vatican II Debate (Nov. 14, 16, 17, 19)", 180-183.

<sup>185</sup> *AS* I/4, 121: "Vobis revelationem quandam facio: antequam schema istud distribuetur, audite! audite!, antequam distribuetur, iam conficiebatur schema substituendum. Igitur ante praevisa merita iam iudicatum est! Non restat inde, ut taceam, quia docet Sacra Scriptura: ubi non est auditus noli effundere sermonem".

<sup>186</sup> See Komonchak's discussion of the Secretariat during this period, Komonchak, "The Struggle for the Council", 263-271, cf. also his account of the frank discussions of the texts in the Central Preparatory Commission – termed a "miniature Council" by some – at 301-304.

<sup>187</sup> Klaus Wittstadt provides ample examples, see Wittstadt, "On the Eve of the Second Vatican Council", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1, 405-500, 419-429. Gerald P. Fogarty speaks of "Para-conciliar Encounters", see G.P. Fogarty, "The Council gets underway", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.) *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 69-106, at 78-84.

<sup>188</sup> Suenens (1904-1996) was amongst others a member of the Central Preparatory Commission. At the Council, he was amongst others a member of the Coordinating Commission (established in December 1962) and one of the four delegates or moderators nominated by Paul VI (in September 1963). Suenens played an important role in designing an alternative draft on the Church. See L. Declerck, "Suenens, Léon-Marie", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 266, cf. the detailed investigation M. Lamberigts, L. Declerck, "The Role of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens at Vatican II", D. Donnelly, J. Famerée, M. Lamberigts, K. Schelkens (eds.), *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 61-217.

<sup>189</sup> Philips worked together with other theologians. Congar recorded a meeting with Philips on an alternative schema as early as October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1962, and claimed that Rahner, Lécuyer, and de Lubac were also involved, see Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 119-121. Ruggieri's claim that Ottaviani had more or less approved the development of an alternative text

text, Gagnebet wrote an angry letter to fellow-*peritus* Philips, in reply to which Philips explained that he had not intended to replace the official draft, but only to improve its structure and form and to give the text a more biblical foundation as well as a more pastoral orientation.<sup>190</sup> In addition to the alternative draft by Philips, various critical reflections were published, amongst others by the Belgian Dominican Edward Schillebeeckx and the Jesuits Karl Rahner and Otto Semmelroth.<sup>191</sup> While the Philips-text was conciliatory in style, Rahner and Schillebeeckx were much more outspoken: the text was not good enough. Their reflections, with lists of defects, theological considerations and ecclesiological alternatives, were widely spread amongst the Council fathers and provided the substance of many of the debates at the Council that were to follow.<sup>192</sup>

---

(Ruggieri, “The First Doctrinal Clash”, 283, note 4, cf. his summary of the redaction history at 298-304) is considered highly improbable by Leo Declerck, see L. Declerck, W. Verschooten, *Inventaire des papiers conciliaires de Monseigneur Gérard Philips, secrétaire adjoint de la commission doctrinale* (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 2001), 9-10, esp. footnote 1. A first sketch of the text, with a brief outline, is recorded in CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 419. In November 1962, the text was improved and translated into French; this text version is known as “Ce que nous attendons et espérons de la constitution dogmatique sur l’Église”, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 433. For an introduction into the content and development of the text, see Ruggieri, “Beyond an Ecclesiology of Polemics”, 282-284 and 298-305. Gerald Fogarty gives an overview of various meetings to exchange thoughts, strategies and new texts, see Fogarty, “The Council gets underway”, 72-93.

<sup>190</sup> For Gagnebet’s letter, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 429; for Philips’ reply, dated November 26<sup>th</sup>, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 431. Both letters are also included in von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 1148-1149.

<sup>191</sup> Rahner (1904-1984), a German Jesuit and prolific writer, was involved in the Council in various capacities. In the Preparatory Period, he was a consultor to the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments and personal advisor to Cardinal König. Late September 1962, John XXIII named him Council *peritus*, and he was personal advisor to both Cardinal König and Cardinal Döpfner. He made a major contribution to *Lumen gentium* and *Dei verbum*. See K. Lehmann, “Rahner, Karl”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 224-227, cf. G. Wassilowsky, *Universales Heilssakrament Kirche: Karl Rahners Beitrag zur Ekklesiologie des II. Vatikanums* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 2001). Schillebeeckx (1914-2009) was a theological advisor for the episcopate of the Netherlands. He never became a Council *peritus* but was nonetheless an influential figure at the background, see K. Schelkens, “Schillebeeckx, Edward”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 241-242, cf. Schillebeeckx Council diary, K. Schelkens (ed.), *The Council Notes of Edward Schillebeeckx 1962-1963. Critically annotated bilingual edition. With a Preface by Mathijs Lamberigts and an Introduction by Erik Borgman* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011). Semmelroth (1912-1979), personal advisor to Bishop Volk and a Council *peritus* for the Third and Fourth Period, had written an important book on the Church as *Ursakrament* (1953). See G. Wassilowsky, “Semmelroth, Otto”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 250-251.

<sup>192</sup> Ruggieri, “Beyond an Ecclesiology of Polemics”, 305-316. Ruggieri dates both texts on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, with “several thousand copies” in the case of Schillebeeckx and 1,300 copies of Rahner’s paper, 305 and 311; Schillebeeckx himself speaks of 1,500 copies, printed on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1962, see Schelkens (ed.), *The Council Notes of Edward Schillebeeckx 1962-1963*, 28. Although both texts seem to exist in various versions, see for Rahner’s text, K. Rahner, O. Semmelroth, *Animadversiones «De Ecclesia»*, K. Rahner, *Das Zweite Vatikanum. Beiträge zum Konzil und seiner Interpretation. Bearbeitet von Günther Wassilowsky* (Freiburg: Herder, 2013), 298-339. For Schillebeeckx’s text, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 1066-1081, cf. the (fierce) response by Heribert Schauf, expert of the Doctrinal Commission and a pupil of Tromp, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 1119-1130. In his



The debate on the text carried from December 1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup>. Already during the introduction of the text, Cardinal Ottaviani announced that he could predict the criticisms of the draft. In the next six days, seventy-seven Council fathers spoke; many others sent in written responses.<sup>193</sup> Some defended the text or wished its hierarchical dimension to be elaborated. Lucjan Bernacki, auxiliary Bishop of Gniezno (Poland), deplored that the text did not have a separate chapter on the Pope, the “evangelical cornerstone of the building of Christ’s Church” and suggested to introduce *petrinitas* into the Creed.<sup>194</sup> Most Council fathers heavily criticized the text. Bernacki was followed by Emiel-Jozef De Smedt, bishop of Bruges (Belgium) and a member of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, who famously criticised the text for its triumphalism, clericalism and juridicism.<sup>195</sup> The schema was also criticised for a lack of coherence and structure.<sup>196</sup>

### Act Three – The First Intersession

Towards the end of the First Period, on December 6<sup>th</sup>, Pericles Felici, the General Secretary of the Council, announced in the name of John XXIII that all drafts needed to be reworked in the light of the conciliar discussion.<sup>197</sup> In the case of the draft on the Church, another source of inspiration were the various alternative drafts that had by that time been prepared.<sup>198</sup> The Doctrinal Commission mandated

---

opening line, Schillebeeckx wrote: “Schema «De Ecclesia», excepto capite «De Laicis» (...), ob varias rationes, quarum principaliores in hoc procemio resumam, non placet”, cf. the concluding line of Rahner’s first part, entitled “Generalia”: “Cum schema nobis tot tantisque defectibus laborare videatur, schema *neque* interim voto «placet iuxta modum» accipi postest, quia, si tali voto constitueretur «in possessione», emendationibus absolute necessariae vix aut omnino non possent obtineri”.

<sup>193</sup> Volumen I/4 of the *Acta synodalia* is almost entirely consecrated to (responses to) Schema 1; cf. the written reactions to this Schema sent in after the First Period had ended, *AS* II/1, 467-604.

<sup>194</sup> *AS* I/4, 138-141, at 138-139 and 140-141.

<sup>195</sup> *AS* I/4, 142-144. For De Smedt (1909-1995), see M. Lamberigts, “De Smedt, Emiel-Jozef”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 89, cf. M. Lamberigts, “Msgr Emiel-Jozef De Smedt, bishop of Bruges, and the Second Vatican Council”, M.T. Fattori, A. Melloni (eds.), *Experience, Organisations and Bodies at Vatican II* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 431-469.

<sup>196</sup> For a summary of the various reactions, see Ruggieri, “Beyond an Ecclesiology of Polemics”, 330-340.

<sup>197</sup> See “Ordo agendorum tempore quod inter conclusionem primae periodi concilii oecumenici et initium secundae intercedit”, *AS* I/1, 96-98. Pericle Felici (1911-1982) taught moral theology at the Lateran University and was an *auditor* of the Roman Rota. In 1959, John XXIII appointed him as general secretary for the Preparatory Commissions. Having been ordained a bishop in 1960, he became the general secretary of the Council as well. See M. Faggioli, “Felici, Pericle”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 103-104.

<sup>198</sup> See J. Grootaers, “The Drama Continues Between the Acts. The «Second Preparation» and its Opponents”, Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 359-514, at 399-401. Eight of these alternatives are included in F. Gil Hellín (ed.), *Concilii Vaticani II synopsis in ordinem redigens schemata cum relationibus necnon patrum orationes atque animadversiones. Constitutio dogmatica de ecclesia, Lumen Gentium* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice Vaticana, 1995), 679-867. These were: one draft by Parente (at the request of Ottaviani), two drafts by Philips (an older and a revised version),

the *Commissio De Ecclesia*, nicknamed the ‘Commission of Seven’ as it consisted of seven Council fathers,<sup>199</sup> to start from the Philips text, and to take into account Archbishop Pietro Parente’s schema and the other ones if they would appear to be useful.<sup>200</sup>

The new Schema 2 differed in many ways from the Schema 1.<sup>201</sup> The Philips draft on which it was based had generally “sought a *via media*, involving some compromises, between the old schema and the calls for a new approach”.<sup>202</sup> Although Schema 2 therefore more than once re-used material from Schema 1, it was substantially restructured. As a consequence, Schema 2 counted four chapters instead of eleven. The new introduction spoke not only of Christ as the light of the peoples, but also introduced the metaphor of the Church as sacrament – sign and instrument – of the unity with God.<sup>203</sup> Both statements differed notably from Schema 1’s focus on the (hierarchical) Church and on the mystical body. Further the opening chapter was now entitled “the mystery of the Church”, and no longer “The nature of the militant Church”. The various reflections on the bishop were brought together in the new chapter two, which moreover was reduced in size and weight, and which prominently featured collegiality as well as short references to the priest and deacon.<sup>204</sup> The chapter on the laity was relocated and put before the chapter on the religious, because of the conviction that the Church fundamentally consists of two states, clerical and the lay, with the religious state being made up of members from both of these states. Finally, the chapters on State-Church relations, mission, and ecumenics were dropped, because other documents would deal with these topics. The result was a more logically structured as well as more theological and less hierarchy-centered reflection.

At the very last moment, Cardinal Suenens, member of the Coordinating Commission and *relator* for the Schema on the Church in this Commission, made an important proposal. He suggested to split the two topics of chapter three – on the people of God and laity – and to make a new chapter on the people of God, that was to be placed immediately after the opening chapter on the mystery of

---

a very elaborate one with a German-Austrian background and an even longer Chilean one, a French draft subscribed by some sixty bishops, two very short ones by Ghattas and Feltin, and an outline by Elchinger; in fact, there were still more alternative drafts.

<sup>199</sup> Namely the Cardinals Browne, Léger, and König, Archbishop Parente, and Bishops Charue, Garrone and Schröffer, the majority of whom were renewal-minded. The experts working for the Commission included amongst others Karl Rahner, Philips and Congar (first Daniélou), see Grootaers, “The Drama Continues Between the Acts”, 396.

<sup>200</sup> See the minutes of the meeting of February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, in von Teuffenbach, *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 888-893, cf. 1139-1140. Cf. rather Philips’ and Charue’s similar recollections, Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 15 and Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 90-91. Discussed in some more detail in chapter 5.2, in the section “Towards a Trinitarian Introduction”.

<sup>201</sup> For some background, see J. Grootaers, “The Drama Continues Between the Acts”, 391-412.

<sup>202</sup> Grootaers, “The Drama Continues Between the Acts”, 401. He thus explains the choice for the Philips draft.

<sup>203</sup> For commentary on the opening words *Lumen gentium quod est Christus*, see footnote 928.

<sup>204</sup> For an introduction of the latter subject, see W.T. Diteweg, “Vatican II and the Renewal of the Diaconate”, W.T. Diteweg, *The Emerging Diaconate. Servant Leaders in a Servant Church* (New York: Paulist Press, 2007), 94-119.

the Church.<sup>205</sup> Following up on this proposal, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, president of the Coordinating Commission, added a small notice to the texts that were sent to the Council fathers on July 19<sup>th</sup>, 1964, saying that the Coordinating Commission “has recently estimated that this chapter should be divided in two parts”, according to the Suenens proposal.<sup>206</sup> This meant another departure from Schema 1, for now the metaphor of the people of God acquired new prominence and thereby challenged both the prominence of the mystical body in Schema 1 and its hierarchical focus.

#### **Act Four – The Second Period**

On September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, a new Pope, Paul VI, opened the Second Period.<sup>207</sup> Paul VI held a remarkably Christ-centered inaugural address, in which he proposed Christ as the origin, way forward, and goal of the Council: “from Him we proceed, through Him (*per*) we live, and towards Him we tend”.<sup>208</sup> The phrase would find its way into Schema 3, in what is now LG 3.<sup>209</sup> As Paul VI then highlighted ecclesiology as “the main matter (*argumentum princeps*) proposed in this second Period of the Ecumenical Council”,<sup>210</sup> it was only logical that he decided that the Council would start with the document on the Church.<sup>211</sup> The Council fathers spent considerable time on it, from September 30<sup>th</sup>

<sup>205</sup> Grootaers notes that monseigneur Albert Prignon, Rector of the Belgian College (where Suenens was staying) seems to have suggested to Suenens to make this proposal; he also points out that the idea was “in the air”. See Grootaers, “The Drama Continues Between the Acts”, 411, note 103.

<sup>206</sup> *AS* II/1, 256, “Commissio de Laboribus Concilii Coordinandis nuper censuit hoc caput dividendum esse in duas partes, quarum prior sit *De populo Dei in genere* et efformeret caput secundum Schematis huius Constitutionis”. For Suenens’ proposal (on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1963) and the deliberations of the Commission, see *AS* V/1, 594 and 637. Cicognani (1883-1973), an Italian curial cardinal who also had a brother-cardinal, held between 1961 and 1969 the function of the Vatican’s Secretary of State. A member of the Central Preparatory Commission, he became during the Council (amongst others) the President of the Coordinating Commission, see Ph. Roy, “Cicognani, Amleto Giovanni”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 78.

<sup>207</sup> Paul VI, born Giovanni Battista Montini (1897-1978), started his ecclesial career as secretary at the Polish nuntiature, worked at the Secretariat of State, and became the archbishop of Milan (Italy), after which John XXIII made him a cardinal in 1958. He was a member of the Central Preparatory Commission. On June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963, he was elected as the successor to John XXIII. See K. Schelkens, J. Mettepenningen, “Paul VI”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 207-210.

<sup>208</sup> *AS* II/1, 183-200, at 187. Cardinal Montini had already pleaded for a more christocentric ecclesiology in response to Schema 1, see *AS* I/4, 29-294, cf. “maiore cum vi doctrina proferenda est, quae agit de relationibus quae inter Ecclesiam et Christum habentur”, at 292.

<sup>209</sup> *AS* III/1, 160, cf. the “Relatio”: “*In fine* reditur ad primatum universalem Christi, adhibitis verbis S.S. Pauli VI in oratione inaugurali Sessionis Secundae Concilii”, 172.

<sup>210</sup> *AS* II/1, 190. The first main goal was to describe the Church; these main goals also included reform, ecumenism, and dialogue with contemporaries, see for the list *AS* II/1, 188-189 and for its development, *AS* II/1, 189-199.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. Congar’s testimony: “le P. Gagnebet me dit que, de décision du Pape, le *De Revelatione* ne sera pas pour cette session-ci. Le programme a été fixé: on examinera cinq schémas: *De Ecclesia*, *De Beata Virgine Maria*, *De oecumenismo*, *De Apostolatu laicorum*, *De regimine Diocesum*”, Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 405 (= September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963).

until October 31<sup>st</sup>, which meant half of the duration of the Second Period. Moreover, afterwards the Council fathers continued with other Church-related topics, first *De episcopis ac de dioecesium regimine* (from November 5<sup>th</sup> until November 18<sup>th</sup>) and then *De Oecumenismo* (from November 18<sup>th</sup> until December 2<sup>nd</sup>), after which the Council drew to a close.<sup>212</sup>

The decision to use Philips' draft as a basis and the adaptation of the text according to the comments made in the winter of 1962 proved successful: schema 2 was much better received than the previous draft. When after two days of general discussions, the Council voted for the first time on this matter – because of the massive critique Schema 1 had never been subjected to a voting round – an overwhelming majority of the Council fathers turned out to be in favor of this Schema as basis for further discussion (2231 *placet*, 43 *non placet*).<sup>213</sup>

The vote was followed by discussions per chapter that lingered throughout the whole month of October, and that therefore took up half of the Second Period.<sup>214</sup> The chapter on the hierarchy in particular was discussed vehemently and at length; collegiality, papal primacy, the sacramental nature of the episcopacy and the reintroduction of the diaconate proved to be contentious issues. Because of the inconclusive character of the discussions, the moderators decided to solicit the Council's opinion through a straw vote on these issues, a plan that could only be carried out after having calmed down the papal fears over such a vote.<sup>215</sup>

During the Second Period, the number of chapters grew. Several Council fathers expressed sympathy for Suenens' proposal, that implied an extra chapter. Some considered a chapter on eschatology indispensable, and others proposed to split the chapter on holiness and religious. The number of chapters increased further as the Council fathers voted – with a small majority – for integrating the Schema on Mary into the Schema on the Church.<sup>216</sup>

The Second Period ended on December 4<sup>th</sup>. In his final address, Paul VI welcomed as fruit of this Period amongst other things the Church's increasing self-knowledge and self-awareness, as well as the promulgation of two documents, the Constitution on the liturgy and the Decree on communication.<sup>217</sup>

---

<sup>212</sup> See *Processus verbales*, AS II/1, 109-176.

<sup>213</sup> Vote on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1963. Details in AS II/1, 387-388 and 391.

<sup>214</sup> For an extensive treatment of the discussion, see A. Melloni, "The Beginning of the Second Period: The Great Debate on the Church", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 3, 1-115, especially "The Problem of the Schema on the Church: First Steps" and "The Debate on Collegiality", 40-105.

<sup>215</sup> For details, see Melloni, "The Beginning of the Second Period", 70-79, 83-91, and 102-105.

<sup>216</sup> For the original Schema on Mary, see AS I/4, 92-97; the added *Praenotanda* explain that the Antepreparatory Commission had received "centena ac centena vota (circa 600)" to speak on Mary. For an introduction of the debate, see Melloni "The beginning of the Second Period", 95-98.

<sup>217</sup> AS II/6, 561-570, at 563-566. Cf. Paul VI's observation that "Etenim cum (Concilium, JM) Ecclesia plenior sui ipsius conscientiam atque notitiam attingere sibi proposuisset, reapse nunc inter Ecclesiae Pastores atque Doctores magna instituta est investigatio de mysterio, ex quo Ecclesia suam originem suamque formam duxit", AS II/6, 563.

## Act Five – The Second Intersession

Revision of the chapters in the light of the wishes of the Council fathers started as early as October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963, the day after the Council had approved Schema 2 as basis text, and was entrusted to the so-called Central Subcommittee for Revision. Due to the enormous number of contributions, the Doctrinal Commission decided to divide the work and entrust it to smaller teams composed of members of the Subcommittee. After the recommendations of these smaller teams had been examined by the Central Subcommittee, they were discussed in the full Doctrinal Commission and finally in the Coordinating Commission.<sup>218</sup>

What changed? Amongst other things, the first chapter was enriched with a new article on the Kingdom of God and a paragraph on poverty. In addition, the Suenens plan to discuss the people of God before the hierarchy was carried out. The material for this new second chapter came from various places. The ecclesiological material in DE 2-3 was relocated to this chapter. Chapter one provided also material on membership. And the former chapter on the people of God and the laity provided material on the people of God. In addition, a reflection on the unity of the people of God was added. The most difficult chapter to revise was the chapter on the hierarchy, now chapter three. The discussion on collegiality in particular was troublesome,<sup>219</sup> and the new text worried Paul VI to such an extent that in May 1964 he sent a list of thirteen suggestions for improvements.<sup>220</sup> The fact that the fourth chapter had lost some of its material to the new chapter on the people of God made that it had a sharper focus on the laity. New articles were introduced in which the laity's involvement was described as a participation in the threefold office of priest, prophet and king. Further, the Doctrinal Commission proposed for Schema 3 to split the chapter on holiness and religious – formerly chapter four, now chapter five – in two articles and perhaps two chapters.<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>218</sup> Melloni specifies that the Doctrinal Commission decided to delegate revision to the Subcommittee on October the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1963, and that the Subcommittee drew up a proposal for seven smaller subcommittees on October 25<sup>th</sup>, with an eight subcommittee added after the vote on the schema on Mary, see Melloni, "The beginning of the Second Period", 108-115, at 109. For more details, see amongst others Tromp's "Relatio de schemate de Ecclesia denuo reformato (1 Oct. 1963-1 Apr. 1964)" and his "Relatio secretarii de laboribus Commissionis de Doctrina Fidei et Morum (15 Mart.-16 Julii 1964)", von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 759-776 and 777-813.

<sup>219</sup> The "Relatio generalis" to Schema 3 admits as much when it states that "In sex perlongis sessionibus attentae considerationi subiectae fuerunt famosae *Propositiones* ... etc 500 folia compacte impressa", *AS* III/1, 269-270.

<sup>220</sup> By that time, the Doctrinal Commission had already approved the text; it went back to work to study Paul VI's suggestion. For a brief discussion of the content of the suggestions and the significance of Paul VI's gesture, see Evangelista Vilanova's discussion of the intersession, E. Vilanova, "The Intersession (1963-1964)", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 3, 37-490, at 420-425.

<sup>221</sup> The background of the proposal is explained at length in the "Relatio adiuncta de problemate ordinationis materiae", *AS* III/1, 329-335. Melloni refers to an important meeting on this issue in Leuven in January 1964, see Melloni, "The beginning of the Second Period", 115.

Finally, the Doctrinal Commission added two new chapters. It integrated a document on the eschatological dimension of the Church and the saints, that had been at the table of the Commission only since February 1964, but that had been prepared in other circles for much longer.<sup>222</sup> The chapter opened with a consideration of the eschatological reality of Christian life and the unity with the heavenly Church and then moved to a reflection on the mutual significance of the saints for the faithful on earth and vice versa, to conclude with a pastoral reflection on a right spiritual attitude in the veneration of the saints.<sup>223</sup> Further, following the wishes of the Council fathers, the Doctrinal Commission reworked the schema on Mary into a chapter that could be added to the Constitution on the Church,<sup>224</sup> a process that took many drafts. The title “The Blessed Virgin and Mother of God Mary in the mystery of Christ and of the Church” indicated that the chapter elaborated both Mary’s unique relationship to Christ and her significance for the Church.<sup>225</sup>

Towards the end of the intersession, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, Paul VI published his first encyclical, *Ecclesiam suam*, that he wished to be a contribution to the discussion.<sup>226</sup> Paul VI spoke amongst others about Church renewal and about dialogue. The encyclical’s impact on *Lumen gentium* was rather limited.<sup>227</sup>

## Act Six – The Third Period

As he had done a year before, in his opening address for the Third Period Paul VI focused on the Church too.<sup>228</sup> He opened by exclaiming three times that the Council fathers make the Church: “Here truly is the Church; here we ourselves make the Church”, stressing the papal prerogatives.<sup>229</sup> He also

---

<sup>222</sup> See chapter 4 of this thesis.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. the short introduction by Cardinal Browne, *AS* III/1, 375-377.

<sup>224</sup> For a summary of the drafting process, see Vilanova, “The Intersession (1963-1964)”, 367-372 and 425-428.

<sup>225</sup> *AS* III/1, 353, cf. the “Relatio generalis” on this chapter, *AS* III/1, 374.

<sup>226</sup> Paul VI, “Litterae encyclicae *Ecclesiam suam*”, *AAS* 56 (1964), 609-659.

<sup>227</sup> For a brief discussion of the genesis, content and significance of the encyclical, see Vilanova, “The Intersession”, 448-457, cf. “It was undoubtedly *Lumen gentium* that reveals above all the divergence from the encyclical, particularly with regard to the emphasis to be placed on the primacy of the Pope or on the power of the bishops. In addition, the expression «People of God» occurs only once in the encyclical”, at 454.

<sup>228</sup> Opening address “in signo Sanctae Crucis”, on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1964, *AS* III/1, 140-151.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. the Latin: “Hic revera est Ecclesia, Nos ipsi hic Ecclesiam efficitur, idque propterea quod membra sumus Mystici Corporis Christi. (...) Efficitur Ecclesiam, quia eius administri sumus, scilicet sacerdotes peculiari caractere insigniti; (...). Ecclesiam demum efficitur, quia ut Magistri fidei, Pastores animarum, Dispensatores mysteriorum Dei (...)”, *AS* III/1, 140-141. He also greeted the priests, religious, and laity, see 148-149, although Schema 3 had adopted another order, namely priest, laity, religious. Congar noticed the hierarchical focus of the address and noted in his Council diary: “Au point de vue de contenu, son discours est une invitation à faire une théologie de l’épiscopat. Mais il part du haut vers le bas, il ne part pas du Peuple de Dieu ses catégories ne sont pas celles d’un plein ressourcement ecclésiologiques”, Congar, *Mon journal du*

highlighted the role of the Holy Spirit in the bishops and the Spirit's presence at the Council, thus perhaps complementing the Christ-centered opening address of the Second Period: "Him we implore, Him we expect, Him we follow".<sup>230</sup>

The general congregations started again with the text on the Church, but this time only the chapters on eschatology and Mary were proposed for discussion, and the debate lasted only for slightly over three days.<sup>231</sup> The chapter on eschatology was welcomed by most as complementing the ecclesiological reflection and paving the way for the final chapter on Mary. Requests for improvements included the wish for a more historical, communitarian, and cosmic treatment of eschatology, for more attention for purgatory and hell, and for an increase in pneumatology. The revised chapter was approved by an overwhelming majority, with some *iuxta modum* votes. Now only requests for minor improvement were allowed, the so-called *modi*. These had to meet various criteria, e.g., they could not be of a fundamental nature, and they had clearly to be improvements. The special subcommissions for *modi* allowed a couple of small final modifications, that were confirmed through a final vote on the so-called *expensio modorum* on November the 18<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

As the text on Mary had not been discussed formally, except for the discussion and vote on whether to speak on Mary in a separate text or not,<sup>232</sup> it was scheduled for discussion after the discussion on eschatology. The debate went in circles. A significant number of Council fathers turned out to be content with the current text, but equally, a significant number pleaded for acknowledging Mary's special role more, especially by titles such as Mother of the Church and Mediatrix.<sup>233</sup> After revisions, the Council fathers approved the chapter on October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1964, with various *iuxta modum* votes.<sup>234</sup>

The discussion on the chapters on eschatology and Mary was alternated with votes on the other chapters, that had already been debated during the Second Period (and occasionally during the First Period as well) and improved during the Second Intersession, and that had been presented to the Council fathers as Schema 3. Especially the vote on chapter three was remarkable. While most chapters were voted on in one or a few rounds, the third chapter was divided in no less than thirty-nine

---

*concile*, vol. 2, 133 (September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1964). Cf. his earlier impression, noted after a private audience with Paul VI, that his ecclesiology is linked to "une vue romaine", Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 118 (= June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1964).

<sup>230</sup> "Spiritus hic adest: eum nos invocamus, eum expectamus, eum sequimur", *AS* III/1, 143. Cf. Nissiotis' observation and evaluation of this address: "When the Pope, under the severe criticism of non-Roman theologians, tried to correct the error by his speech at the opening of the Third Session, mentioning again and again the Holy Spirit, who was totally absent in this speech last year on the same occasion ...", Nissiotis, "The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council", 50.

<sup>231</sup> For background, see J.A. Komonchak, "Toward an Ecclesiology of Communion", Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 4, 1-93, especially the section "The Constitution on the Church", 37-86.

<sup>232</sup> Various Council fathers had already made remarks on Mary, but there had not been a discussion on the basis of the draft itself.

<sup>233</sup> *AS* III/6, 37-38, 49.

<sup>234</sup> *AS* III/1, 43-478, 504-544 and III/2, 10-21, 71-188.

smaller parts to be voted on. Moreover, only in this case, the votes were preceded by four extensive presentations, one expressing the minority's critique of the text, and three explaining the revised text.<sup>235</sup> Further, the Council fathers decided to split the chapter on holiness and religious in two chapters rather than having an A and a B part. Nonetheless, the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the proposed text. On a total of 2,189 voters, as much as 2,114 Council fathers voted *placet* (96.6%), with 63 *placet iuxta modum* votes; only 11 Council fathers voted *non placet*.<sup>236</sup>

In the process of weighing the *modi*, chapter three stood out again, this time because Paul VI intervened with a preliminary explanatory note. A so-called *Nota explicativa praevia* meant to clarify what the Constitution on the Church said on the college of bishops and on the place of the Pope in it. In fact the *Nota* was the tip of an iceberg of a behind-the-scenes battle between the majority and the minority, that had been going on for a long time now. The Philippine theologian Louis Antonio Tagle called it “the fruit of a «Black Third Period» for the Constitution on the Church”. He also observed that with the *Nota*, ironically, the polemics did not end but continued, now on the *Nota*'s content and meaning.<sup>237</sup> Many bishops and several prominent theologians, such as de Lubac and Ratzinger, reacted negatively to this initiative from the Pope and charged him with non-collegial behavior.<sup>238</sup> Still, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1964 almost 99% of the Council fathers agreed with the way the *modi* on Schema 3 had been processed.<sup>239</sup> Finally, on November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1964, the final text of *Lumen gentium* was solemnly approved and promulgated, including two new chapters, together with two other Church-related documents, the Decree on the Eastern churches *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, and the Decree on ecumenism *Unitatis redintegratio*.

In conclusion, this overview of the different phases of the redaction history of *Lumen gentium* shows that the conciliar process was marked by intense debates and substantial ecclesiological changes. These changes included the theological rather than institutional focus, the introduction of new ecclesiological images such as sacrament and people of God, the priority of community over hierarchy, the notion of episcopal collegiality and the inclusion of topics such as the people of God, eschatology and Mary.

---

<sup>235</sup> AS III/2, 193-218. For background, see Komonchak, “Toward an Ecclesiology of Communion”, 62-86.

<sup>236</sup> AS III/1, 497.

<sup>237</sup> See Tagle, “The «Black Week» of Vatican II”, 417-445. For a full dossier on this *Nota*, see J. Grootaers, *Primauté et collégialité: Le dossier de Gérard Philips sur la Nota Explicativa Praevia, Lumen Gentium, Chapitre III* (Leuven: University Press, 1986).

<sup>238</sup> See L. Declerck, “Les réactions de quelques ‘periti’ du Concile Vatican II à la Nota explicativa praevia (G. Philips, J. Ratzinger, H. De Lubac, H. Schauf)”, *Notiziario Istituto Paolo VI* 61 (2011), 47-69.

<sup>239</sup> AS III/6, 105. The numbers: 1924 voters, 1903 *placet*, 17 *non placet*. Four votes were invalid, three of which were *iuxta modum* votes (an option that was not available!). The vote was on October 30<sup>th</sup>, surprisingly long after the *Expensio* had been finished and approved by the Doctrinal Commission, which had happened already on (probably) September 28<sup>th</sup>, cf. von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 557 and Philips' note dated October 8<sup>th</sup>, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1827.



These insights complement the conclusion drawn in the previous section. The Suenens proposal and its positive reception confirms the interpretation proposed in the previous chapter that the first two chapters are the foundation of *Lumen gentium*'s view of the Church, and that therefore indeed the Church is to be understood primarily as mystery and the people of God, made up of the faithful, and only in a second instance as an organisation with two types of members, hierarchy and lay-faithful. Further, the redaction history confirms the interpretation that the document's ecclesiology is multifaceted and that it should be thus interpreted, for it shows that what the Council fathers wished *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology to look like and what the conciliar process tended towards is very much a balance between the hierarchical and other facets of the Church, a balance that was found lacking in Schema 1. Finally the details of *Lumen gentium*'s redaction history, especially the development of the chapter on eschatology and the saints and on Mary, reveal that the Constitution's coherent 4 times 2 structure owes not only to systematic considerations but also to other, more coincidental factors.

## 2.3 *Lumen Gentium*'s Theological-Historical Context

The meaning of *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology depends not only on the text and its development, but also on its context. Therefore, widening the circle one more time, I will conclude this introductory chapter with some theological-historical considerations. How was the Church conceived in preconciliar times, by theologians and the magisterium? And how does *Lumen gentium* compare to these preconciliar ecclesiologies? Once again, as this is an introductory chapter, I will be brief.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the anti-modern attitude from the late nineteenth century continued to dominate the Roman-Catholic theological scene. It even did so with a new vigour. In his 1907 encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis*, Pope Pius X warned for the enemy that had now entered the Church. He therefore urged bishops to denounce bad books – not just one or two – and to erect in their diocese a “council of vigilance”.<sup>240</sup> The introduction of the anti-modernist oath in 1910 was part of the practical follow up to this encyclical, as was the secret network of the *Sodalitium Pianum*, existing between 1909 and 1921.<sup>241</sup>

---

<sup>240</sup> See Pius X, “Litterae encyclicae pascendi dominici gregis summi pontificis Pius PP. X de modernistarum doctrinis”, *ASS* 40 (1907), 593-650, no. 51 and 55. Cf.: “Let no bishop think that he fulfils this duty by denouncing to us one or two books, while a great many others of the same kind are being published and circulated”, no. 51, and, “We decree, therefore, that in every diocese a council of this kind, which we are pleased to name «the Council of Vigilance», be instituted without delay” no. 55. For background, see E. Fouilloux, *Une Eglise en quête de liberté: la pensée catholique française entre modernisme et Vatican II (1914-1962)* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1998) and D. Jodock, “Introduction I: the Modernist Crisis” and “Introduction II: Modernists and anti-Modernists”, D. Jodock (ed.), *Catholicism Contending with Modernity. Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-27.

<sup>241</sup> See E. Poulat, *Intégrisme et catholicisme intégral. Un réseau secret international antimoderniste: La «Sapinière» (1909-1921)* (Tournai: Casterman, 1969), cf. J. Mettepenningen, “Van vloek tot zegen. Een eeuw modernisme”, *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 35 (2005), 227-257.

In spite of this, various renewal movements came to life.<sup>242</sup> In an overview article on 20<sup>th</sup> century ecclesiology, the Belgian theologian Jean Frisque called the First World War “die entscheidende Wende”.<sup>243</sup> With its negative experiences of institutions and power and its positive experiences of lay responsibility and of ecumenism, the war called into question the defensive and apologetical theological atmosphere.<sup>244</sup> A growing number of theologians became aware of the limitations of the narrow neoscholastic mindset and of anti-modern theology, and preferred instead a return to the sources and a more positive stance to modern times. Congar criticized as early as 1935 the theology of his time for its lack of interest in everyday’s life and its self-confinement in apologetics.<sup>245</sup> Reviewing what was going on in the theology of his time, the 1950s, the Belgian church historian Roger Aubert identified two major concerns: “the desire for a closer contact with the Tradition and the concern for a better adaptation to the modern world”.<sup>246</sup> He discussed various renewal movements (biblical, liturgical, patristic) and noted the efforts to develop a positive approach to laity, to history, to modern philosophy and psychology, to other Christian Churches, and to new theological expression.

One of the fruits of the renewal movement was the rediscovery of the notion of the mystical body of Christ. Between 1920 and 1940, the mystical body of Christ became the dominant ecclesiological model. In 1942, the American Jesuit Joseph Bluett described the stunning growth in popularity of this theme. He noted that “in 1920 the period of phenomenal growth began. In the first half of the 1920’s the amount of literature equalled that of the twenty previous years. And in the second half of the decade the output was doubled. The first half of the 1930’s saw a volume of

---

<sup>242</sup> For a recent discussion of the various preconciliar movements of renewal, see G. Routhier, Ph. Roy, K. Schelkens (eds.), *La théologie catholique entre intransigeance et renouveau: la réception des mouvements préconciliaires à Vatican II* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Brepols, 2011).

<sup>243</sup> J. Frisque, “Die Ekklesiologie im 20. Jahrhundert”, H. Vorgrimler, R. Vander Gucht (eds.), *Bilanz der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1969), vol. 2, 192-243, at 195, cf. 194-207. Cf. Stanislas Jákí’s earlier observation (in 1957) that “l’existence des tendances nouvelles dans l’ecclésiologie est un fait désormais indiscutable”, St. Jákí, *Les tendances nouvelles de l’ecclésiologie* (Rome: Herder, 1957), 6. Jean Frisque (1925-1982), a member of the *Société Auxiliaire des Missions*, was involved at the Council as personal advisor to Archbishop François Marty, see M. Quisinsky, “Frisque, Jean”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 111-112.

<sup>244</sup> See Frisque, “Die Ekklesiologie im 20. Jahrhundert”, cf. L. Bouyer, “Chronique d’histoire de la théologie contemporaine. Où en est la théologie du corps mystique?”, *Révue des sciences religieuses* 22 (1948), 313-333, 315-320.

<sup>245</sup> See Congar’s article “Déficit de la théologie”, *Sept* (18th of January 1935), quoted extensively by Jürgen Mettepenningen (who considers the piece fundamental for the *nouvelle théologie*), J. Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie – New Theology. Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 43-47. For background, cf. T.M. Schoof, *Aggiornamento. De doorbraak van een nieuwe katholieke theologie* (Baarn: Het Wereldvenster, 1968), translated as *Breakthrough: Beginnings of the New Catholic Theology* (1970), also translated into German (1969) and Italian (1971).

<sup>246</sup> R. Aubert, *La théologie catholique au milieu du XXe siècle* (Tournai: Casterman, 1954), “Introduction”, 7-8, at 8, “Deux préoccupations majeures caractérisent la théologie actuelle: désir d’un contact plus étroit avec la Tradition et souci d’une meilleure adaptation au monde moderne”. Aubert acknowledged earlier similar efforts by Daniélou and Congar from 1946 and 1948, at 7.

literature five times that of the corresponding years of the preceding decade. The crest of the acceleration seems to have come in 1937. Thereafter growth continued, but at a more moderate rate”.<sup>247</sup>

This renewal rooted in the dissatisfaction amongst theologians with the overly defensive and institution-centered view of the Church as a *societas*, that had dominated the nineteenth century and the drafts of Vatican I.<sup>248</sup> Instead they wished for a more theological view of the Church. Mystical body theology was very helpful to articulate both the Church’s institutional aspect and its spiritual or theological reality, as it was modeled after Christ, who had body as well as an (embodied) transcendent soul.<sup>249</sup>

The salient point however was the balance between these two aspects. A first version of mystical body theology maintained the institutional focus that had characterized *societas* ecclesiology. The invisible, divine reality of the Church was identified with its visible, hierarchical reality. Often this type of mystical body ecclesiology explicitly and vehemently rejected another one, in which – thus it claimed – the so-called charismatic Church of love and the institutional Church were opposed. Tromp typically represented this type of mystical body theology.<sup>250</sup>

---

<sup>247</sup> J.J. Bluett, “The Mystical Body of Christ: 1890-1940”, *Theological Studies* 3 (1942), 261-289, 262. In 1948, Bouyer made a similar observation: “Il est à peine besoin de signaler la place prise presque subitement, dans la prédication courante comme dans la systématisation théologique, dans la plus haute spiritualité comme dans la plus large vulgarisation, par le «corps mystique»”, L. Bouyer, “Où en est la théologie du corps mystique?”, 315.

<sup>248</sup> For a more detailed account of this point, including a discussion of the renewal impulses by German romanticist theologians such as Johann Adam Möhler, see R. Aubert, “La géographie ecclésiologique au XIXe siècle”, M. Nédoncelle (ed.), *L’ecclésiologie au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1960), 11-55; Y. Congar, “L’ecclésiologie de la Révolution Française au Concile du Vatican, sous le signe de l’affirmation de l’autorité”, M. Nédoncelle, P. Evdimokov, R. Aubert (eds.), *L’ecclésiologie au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1960), 77-114; Y. Congar, *Die Lehre von der Kirche. Vom Abenländischen Sichsma bis zur Gegenwart* (Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte III/3d) (Freiburg: Herder, 1971), especially “Das 19. Jahrhundert” (chapter five) and “Das Jahrhundert der Kirche” (chapter six), 81-123; P. Granfield, “The Church as Societas Perfecta in the Schemata of Vatican I”, *Church History. Studies in Christianity and Culture* 48 (1979), 431-446; U. Valeske, *Votum Ecclesiae. I. Teil. Das Ringen um die Kirche in der neueren römisch-katholischen Theologie. Dargestellt auf dem Hintergrund der evangelischen und ökumenischen Parallel-Entwicklung; II. Teil. Interkonfessionelle ekklesiologische Biographie* (München: Claudius, 1962). Cf. more recently, M.J. Himes, “The Development of Ecclesiology: Modernity to the Twentieth Century”, P.C. Phan (ed.), *The Gift of the Church. A Textbook on Ecclesiology in Honor of Patrick Granfield, O.S.B.* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000), 45-67.

<sup>249</sup> For the transfer of the term *corpus mysticum* from the Eucharist to the Church, see H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L’Eucharistie et l’Église au Moyen Age*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Aubier, 1949). (The 1<sup>st</sup> edition was finished in 1939, cf. the *Avant-propos*, but the Second World War delayed the printing to 1944.)

<sup>250</sup> See S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. I. Introductio generalis* (Romae: Apud aedes universitatis universitas Gregoriana, 1937). He meant to complement this “general introduction” with a second part, consecrated to specific questions, but his plan changed; the second edition of the first part (1946) was followed by three more volumes, namely on Christ the head, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. II. De Christo capite mystici corporis* and *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia* (1960) and on the Holy Spirit, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. III. De Spiritu Christi anima corporis mystici* (1960). The fourth

Another version of mystical body theology gave priority to the invisible aspect of the mystical body. According to the Belgian Jesuit and theologian Émile Mersch, one of the proponents of this type of theology, Christ and grace were realities beyond the mystical body's institutional manifestation, that is, the Church. In Mersch's view, the mystical body included the whole of human reality which Christ, by his incarnation, had assumed and clothed with divinity.<sup>251</sup> In his 1943 ecclesiological encyclical "on the mystical body and on our union in her with Christ" *Mystici corporis*, Pope Pius XII embraced the first version of mystical body theology.<sup>252</sup> According to Pius XII, "to define and describe this true Church of Jesus Christ – which is the one, holy, Catholic, apostolic and Roman Church – no expression more noble, more sublime, or more divine can be found than «the mystical body of Jesus Christ»" (MC 13).

In the light of the later analysis of the encyclical's pneumatology, I will briefly develop its content. The encyclical consists of three parts. In the first part, Pius XII elaborated in a highly systematic way the three elements of the mystical body of Christ: body, Christ, and mystical. In the chapter on the body (MC 14-23), he stressed the unity in diversity of the body of Christ. It consisted of the hierarchy, the body's principal members (*primaria eos ac principalia membra*, MC 17), as well as others, married, religious, fathers and mothers. In the second and longest chapter, he explained why the body is called "of Christ" (MC 24-57), specifying four complementary reasons: Christ has founded the Church, Christ is the head of the Church, Christ sustains the Church, and finally Christ redeems the Church. In fact, the arguments overlap and point to a single fundamental conviction, namely that everything depends on Christ.<sup>253</sup> In the last chapter, Pius XII explained the third element, the mystical

---

volume was published only after the Council: S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. IV. De virgine deipara Maria corde mystici corporis* (1972).

<sup>251</sup> E. Mersch, *La théologie du corps mystique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1944), cf. vol. 1, 288, "L'incarnation ne fait donc qu'un seul tout, dans cette totalité du Christ, avec la divinisation de toute l'humanité, avec le corps de grâce où se fait cette divinisation, avec la vie surnaturelle de tous les membres de ce corps: le corps mystique est la plénitude de l'humanité assumée". The book was edited posthumously by Jean Levie, cf. E. Mersch, *La théologie du corps mystique*, vol.1, vii-xxxiii. Earlier, in preparation for this book, Mersch had issued a two volume study on the Church Fathers, E. Mersch, *La théologie du corps mystique. Études de théologie historique*, 2 vols. (Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1933).

<sup>252</sup> Pius XII, "Litterae encyclicae ad venerabiles fratres patriarchas, primates, archiepiscopos, episcopos aliosque locorum ordinarios pacem et communionem cum apostolica sede habentes: de mystico Iesu Christi corpore deque nostra in eo cum Christo coniunctione", *AAS* 35 (1943), 193-248, commonly referred to as *Mystici corporis*, after the opening words. Generally, Tromp is acknowledged as the encyclical's primary author, cf. his edition of the text with commentary, S. Tromp, *Litterae encyclicae Pius Papa XII de mystico Iesu Christi corpore deque nostra in eo cum Christo coniunctione «Mystici Corporis Christi»*. *Tertio edidit uberrimis documentis illustravit Sebastianus Tromp S.I.* (Romae: Apud aedes pontificae universitatis Gregorianae, 1958). For reasons I will specify in the introduction to chapter nine, I follow the article numbers used in the translation by canon Smith, Pius XII, *Encyclical Letter (Mystici Corporis Christi)*, trans. G.D. Smith (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1951).

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Pius XII's explanation that there is no need to dwell on the fourth reason "because we have already written at sufficient length concerning the birth of the Church on the Cross (1st reason, JM), and concerning Christ, giver of light and cause of sanctity (2nd reason, JM), and upholder of his mystical body (3rd reason, JM)" (MC 57). Thus the explanation of the

dimension of the Church, by comparing the Church to other organisations, to conclude that the Church has a unique principle of unity, the Holy Spirit (MC 60-66).

In the second part, Pius XII focused on the spiritual dimension of the mystical body, unity with Christ. Indeed, the words *deque* and *in eo* in the official title of the encyclical clarify that, in the understanding of its author, the faithful's unity with Christ is closely related to mystical body: *de mystico Iesu Christi corpore deque nostra in eo cum Christo coniunctione*. Mystical body theology may indeed find its most natural expression in ecclesiology, it is rooted in the belief in Christ's intimate and embodied relationship to the world, and may also be articulated in relation to other areas than the Church, such as spiritual life.<sup>254</sup>

In this second part, Pius XII alternated spiritual and juridical considerations. In the opening section, he moved from the deep and mysterious unity of the faithful with Christ to the unity of Christ within the *societas* of the Church (MC 67). The following articles show the same movement. While unity with Christ is explained in MC 68 as a unity through the "interior inspiration and impulse of the Holy Spirit", the following article focuses on the external unity through "juridical bonds" such as the creed and the sacraments. Pius XII then moved to the bonds of faith, hope and love (MC 70-75) and indwelling (76-79), to conclude with a spiritual reflection on the Eucharist (80-83). These considerations are followed by a second chapter on erroneous views on the Church and unity with Christ, which seems to be the first chapter's disciplinary follow-up. Pius XII targeted misrepresentations of the unity with Christ (MC 84-86) and an undervaluation of the importance of frequent confession and of private prayer (MC 86-89).

Finally, in the third part, Pius XII changed roles from teacher to pastor and exhorted the faithful to loving the Church, who was portrayed as a caring mother deserving our love, respect, and thankfulness (MC 90-91).<sup>255</sup> In order to foster our love, Pius XII recommended viewing the Church as Christ, both in its "higher (*altiora*) members" and in those who are weak (MC 92-93). Thus we should learn from Christ what love is and imitate him (MC 95-98), follow Christ in his prayer for all the

---

first three topics suffices to understand the fourth one. Moreover, in introducing the third reason, Pius XII had already explained that it is in fact very similar to the second one: "We have just briefly and carefully explained, venerable brethren, the way in which Christ our Lord wills the abundance of his gifts to flow forth from his divine fullness into the Church (...). This explanation contributes greatly to the understanding of the third reason for which the social body of the Church is called the body of Christ, consisting in the fact that our saviour himself divinely upholds the society which He founded" (MC 50).

<sup>254</sup> Themes relating to the spiritual life feature frequently in Bluett's overview of mystical body literature, see Bluett, "The Mystical Body of Christ: 1890-1940", cf. P. Galtier, "L'encyclique sur le corps mystique du Christ et la spiritualité", *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 85 (1946), 44-60, cf.: "Notre intention n'est pas ici de résumer l'ensemble du document pontifical (...). Nous voudrions seulement signaler l'intérêt qu'il présente du point de vue proprement spirituel, ascétique ou mystique", at 46.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. the introduction: "Having now, venerable brethren, expounded this mystery of our intimate union with Christ (part II, JM) and so, in our quality of teacher of the universal Church, illuminated men's minds with the light of truth, we deem it our pastoral duty also to arouse in their hearts an ardent charity towards this mystical body" (MC 90).

members of the mystical body including non-Catholics and rulers and kings (99-104), and love the Church by sharing in Christ's suffering (MC 105-108). Pius XII concluded with final exhortations, invocations and the papal blessing (MC 109-112).

Fundamentally, in *Mystici corporis* Pius XII developed ecclesiology and spirituality in two directions. On the one hand, he conceived the Church theologically, as founded by Christ and headed by Christ, and with the Holy Spirit as unique mystical principle of unity. On the other hand, he focused on the Church's social juridical reality, conceived as identical with Christ. Unity with Christ was conceived accordingly, as both based on the theological virtues and depending on visible expressions of the Church such as creed and sacraments. The American theologian Edward Hahnenberg concluded not too long ago that, because the encyclical conceived the themes of the Church and unity in an institution-centered framework, "the model of the mystical body itself, while offering a deeper theological ground to ecclesiology, had little influence on the existing understanding of the Church's concrete, historical existence".<sup>256</sup>

When Pius XII issued his encyclical, the mystical body theology was in fact already beyond its highpoint. In the 1950s, in the wake of questions on the narrow and institution-centered conception of Church membership as well as experiences of lay responsibility (World Wars, Catholic Action), ecumenism, liturgical renewal and biblical renewal, the image of the people of God became important.<sup>257</sup> In the same period, the idea of the Church as a sacrament was pioneered, amongst others by Semmelroth in his book *Die Kirche als Ursakrament* (1953/1955). Semmelroth explained that his ecclesiology represented an attempt to develop the two, invisible and visible dimensions of the mystical body in a more satisfying manner. Yet by embracing the notion of sacrament, Semmelroth gave priority to Christ or God over the visible form, so that he was in fact closer to Mersch than to Tromp and Pius XII.<sup>258</sup>

---

<sup>256</sup> E. Hahnenberg, "The Mystical Body of Christ and Communion Ecclesiology: Historical Parallels", *Irish Theological Quarterly* 70 (2005), 3-30, 12.

<sup>257</sup> Important pioneering work was done by amongst others the German Dominican Mannes Dominikus Koster and the Belgian Scripture scholar Lucien Cerfaux. For background and evaluation, see Y. Congar, "The Church: The People of God", *Concilium. International Journal of Theology* 1 (1965/1), 11-37. For theological-historical background and introduction in *Lumen gentium*, see E.-M. Faber, "Volk Gottes", M. Delgado, M. Sievernich (eds.), *Die große Metaphern des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils. Ihre Bedeutung für heute* (Freiburg: Herder, 2013), 168-185. Cf. P. Napiwodzski, *Ekklesiologie im Werden. Mannes Dominikus Koster und sein Beitrag zum theologischen Verständnis der Kirche* (2005), online at [https://doc.rero.ch/record/5056/files/1\\_NapiwodzskiP.pdf](https://doc.rero.ch/record/5056/files/1_NapiwodzskiP.pdf).

<sup>258</sup> O. Semmelroth, *Die Kirche als Ursakrament*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Frankfurt: Josef Knecht, 1955), 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1953. For example, after noting that mystical body ecclesiology leaves open various questions concerning the concepts body, soul and their relationship, Semmelroth proposes: "Diese drängende Fragen, ohne deren Klärung immer wieder Einseitigkeiten erwartet werden müssen, hoffen wir durch die Darstellung der Kirche als sakramentaler Wirklichkeit einigermaßen beantworten zu können", Semmelroth, *Die Kirche als Ursakrament*, 36-37. Cf. "Christus selbst ist das Urbild jeder Sakramentalität. In ihm ist das Grundgesetz der Heilsökonomie Gottes bestimmt, daß er nämlich aus seiner geistigen Unsichtbarkeit in unsere personale und eben deshalb verleblichte Nähe kommt, auf daß wir Menschen – Geist im Leib – in personaler Begegnung zu ihm

This (very brief) sketch of the preconiliar ecclesiological context sheds further light on the explorations of *Lumen gentium*'s content and development undertaken in the previous sections. It explains why the debates were so intense: ultimately the issue was fundamental theological orientation. Arguably, not only was ecclesiology based on the people of God and sacrament or mystery victorious over the institution-centered renewal as exemplified in *Mystici corporis*, *Lumen gentium*'s redaction history was fundamentally a magisterial reception-process in which the pioneering *ressourcement* and *aggiornamento* voices that until that time had been regarded with suspicion turned out to be the voices that the majority of the Council fathers embraced.<sup>259</sup>

The theological-historical background influences the interpretation of *Lumen gentium*'s content, e.g. by confirming the significance of *Lumen gentium*'s opening line. Precisely the fact that the sentence identifies Christ, not the Church, as the light of the peoples, symbolizes the move from the Church to Christ. Similarly, in the light of the dominance of the mystical body in preconiliar magisterial ecclesiology and of its institution-centered interpretation, it is momentous that the Constitution's final text, while maintaining the image of the mystical body, has given priority to three other metaphors: mystery and sacrament, the people of God on pilgrimage, and communion.<sup>260</sup> Finally, the theological-historical context confirms the importance of the gradually decreasing distinction between (active) hierarchy and (receptive) laity, to the advantage of a more communal ecclesiology, in Schema 2 and Schema 3.

## Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to prepare for exploring pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* by introducing the document and its ecclesiology. I have given an overview of *Lumen gentium*'s structure and its main ecclesiological convictions, outlined the development of the text and sketched in broad strokes its theological-historical context. In doing so, I have also briefly indicated how the various hermeneutical approaches are complementary. We have seen that the redaction history shed

---

kommen können. Dieses Ursakrament Christus kommt nun in unsere menschliche raumzeitlich gebundene Existenz durch die Kirche als Sakrament der Menschheit und durch die Einzelsakramente als Sakrament der einzelnen Menschen", Semmelroth, *Die Kirche als Ursakrament*, 51. For theological-historical background and a discussion of its introduction in *Lumen gentium*, see J.-H. Tück, "Sakrament des Heils für die Welt. Annäherungen an einen ekklesiologischen Leitbegriff des Konzils", M. Delgado, M. Sievernich (eds.), *Die große Metaphern des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils. Ihre Bedeutung für heute* (Freiburg: Herder, 2013), 141-167.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. A. Acerbi, *Due ecclesiologie: ecclesiologia giuridica ed ecclesiologia di comunione nella «Lumen gentium»* (Bologna: Edizione Dehoniane, 1975).

<sup>260</sup> The debate on the relationship between these three metaphors – and the question if *communio* was in fact added in postconciliar reception – is beyond the current exploration. For an introduction, see Hahnenberg, "The Mystical Body of Christ and Communion Ecclesiology", esp. 19-27; P. De Mey, K. Schelkens, "Is *communio* dan toch het centrale kerkbeeld van Vaticanum II?", M. Lamberigts, L. Kenis (eds.), *Vaticanum II: geschiedenis of inspiratie. Theologische opstellen over het tweede Vaticaans Concilie* (Antwerpen: Halewijn, 2013), 85-106.

further light on the structure of *Lumen gentium* and confirmed the significance of the order of its chapters, or that the document's theological-historical context helped to appreciate the value of theological opening article LG 1.

One more introductory chapter is necessary. Because *Lumen gentium* is mainly about the Church – so that this introductory chapter on the Constitution and its ecclesiology was mandatory – until now, its pneumatology has not yet been explored. As an exploration of pneumatological renewal obviously presupposes insight in its pneumatology, in the next chapter, I will first focus on *Lumen gentium*'s view of the Holy Spirit.





# Chapter 3

## The Holy Spirit According to *Lumen Gentium*

### Close Reading

#### 3.1 Methodological Introduction

After the previous chapters focused on the relevant scholarship (chapter one) and on *Lumen gentium* and its ecclesiology (chapter two), this final introductory chapter addresses *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology. To prepare for the exploration of redaction-historical and theological-historical renewal in the next chapters, I need first to review the text itself. How does *Lumen gentium* conceive the Holy Spirit? That question is less straightforward than it may seem. In fact, where does one find the document's pneumatology? Does one analyse Spirit-related topics, or Spirit-related values, or focus on references to the Spirit? And if one focuses on one or the other, how in fact does one analyse these topics or references? What are we after?

Because of my conviction that the text as it stands has a certain hermeneutical priority (see the General Introduction), I will stay as close to the text as possible, and therefore focus on explicit references to the Spirit. In concrete terms, that means that my research is guided by the word *Spiritus*, in different combinations, such as *Spiritus Sanctus* or *Spiritus, Spiritus Christi, suus Spiritus*, or *Spiritus veritatis*. In addition, *Sanctus* in LG 12 seems to denote the Holy Spirit as well, as it is used in combination with the typically Spirit-related word anointment, and as other, similar statements in the same article explicitly mention the Holy Spirit.<sup>261</sup> *Lumen gentium* does not use the word *paraclitus*. As expressions such as “the power of God” (LG 3) and “the power of the risen Lord” (LG 8) could be

---

<sup>261</sup> Cf. LG 12, “Universitas fidelium, qui unctionem habent a Sancto (cf. 1Io 2,20 et 27), in credendo falli nequit”; the Scripture reference 1 John 2:20,27 has in Greek *chrisma*. The interpretation of “Holy one” as the Holy Spirit is confirmed by the *Relatio* to this article, which speaks of the *assistentia Spiritus Sancti*, AS III/1, 198. Cf. also the later explanation that the sense of faith is “a Spiritu veritatis excitatur et sustentatur”. In her overview article on Spirit-references in *Lumen gentium*, Anna Marie Aagaard includes this reference, see Aagaard, “Helligånden i Konkildokumenterne”, 58. Gerard Philips (*L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 175) seems undecided. He interprets *a Sancto* in relationship to Christ by adding “that is, Christ”, yet he also claims that “without a doubt we should understand this anointment as the Spirit of truth”. Mullins (*The Teaching of Lumen gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 286-297) does not take sides and notes both Philips' reticence and Kothgasser's pneumatological interpretation of this article. For Kothgasser, see A.M. Kothgasser, “Dogmenentwicklung und die Funktion des Geist-Parakleten nach den Aussagen des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils”, in *Salesianum* 31 (1969), 379-460, 393.

interpreted pneumatologically but in fact do not mention the Spirit, I will leave those out.<sup>262</sup> In addition, in several cases, “Pentecost” serves as a time indicator rather than being a reference to the Holy Spirit (LG 4, LG 19, LG 24, LG 59).

A further methodological issue has to do with the distinction between Spirit-references, the number of which amounts to ninety (or ninety-one),<sup>263</sup> and Spirit-statements. For on the basis of a single reference to the Spirit, various statements on the Spirit may be made, or in technical language, propositions.<sup>264</sup> For example, when LG 4 states that “the Spirit dwells in the Church and in the hearts of the faithful as in a temple (...) and prays in them”, the single subject *Spiritus* governs two parallel statements. The Spirit is not only said to dwell in the Church but also to pray in the faithful. Thus the single reference “the Spirit” governs two Spirit-propositions.<sup>265</sup> As the central question of our enquiry is how *Lumen gentium* conceives the Spirit, I will focus on propositions rather than references.

I also interpret short relative clauses using a *participium* as an extra Spirit-proposition. When LG 2 teaches that the Church is made manifest by “the poured-out Spirit” – *effuso Spiritu Sancto* – it not only states that the Church is made manifest by the Spirit, but also that that Spirit has been poured out, so that, in my interpretation, *Lumen gentium* makes in this article two Spirit-propositions.<sup>266</sup> A noun derived from a verb also implies an extra Spirit-proposition. When LG 10 explains that “by regeneration and the anointing (*per unctionem*) of the Holy Spirit, (the baptized) are consecrated into (...) a holy priesthood”, the phrase in fact states that the baptized are consecrated by the Holy Spirit,

---

<sup>262</sup> Although translators occasionally opt for upper case, the reference to “the spirit of Christ” in LG 36 is in lower case. Cf. full text, “Fideles igitur totius creaturae intimam naturam, valorem et ordinationem in laudem Dei agnoscere, et per opera etiam saecularia se invicem ad sanctiorem vitam adiuvere debent, ita ut mundus spiritu Christi imbuatur atque in iustitia, caritate et pace finem suum efficacius attingat”. The comparison between Schema 2 and Schema 3 in *AS III/1*, 277 reveals that Schema 2 (article 25) had a majuscule, “ita ut mundus Spiritu Christi imbuatur”.

<sup>263</sup> The answer to the question if the document features ninety or ninety-one Spirit-references depends on the interpretation of the document’s concluding formula, namely that “we, by the apostolic power given us by Christ, together with the Venerable Fathers, in the Holy Spirit, approve, decree and establish it and command that what has thus been decided in the Council be promulgated for the glory of God”. I would argue that this formula is not part of the document itself but rather a concluding formula shared by all documents, and that it should therefore not be considered as part of *Lumen gentium*’s references to the Holy Spirit. For an overview of all references, see Aagaard, “Helligånden i Konkildokumenterne”, 56 and 57-60. Mullins speaks of ninety-one references without giving an overview, see Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 6. Boulding speaks tentatively of “about eighty times”, see Boulding, “The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Vatican II”, 253.

<sup>264</sup> Language philosophy distinguishes between statements, understood as sentences, and propositions, understood as the content of a statement or sentence. I owe Professor Sarot for pointing out this distinction.

<sup>265</sup> For another example, see LG 7, “(Christus) dedit nobis de Spiritu suo, qui unus et idem in Capite et in membris existens, totum corpus ita vivificat, unificat et movet, ut Eius officium a sanctis Patribus comparari potuerit cum munere, quod principium vitae seu anima in corpore humano adimplet”. The single reference *Spiritus suus* is related to six propositions: Christ gives his Spirit; the Spirit lives in the head and the members; the Spirit vivifies, unifies, moves; the Spirit was compared to the principle of life.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “Ecclesia, quae iam ab origine mundi praefigurata (...), effuso Spiritu est manifestata”.

and that the Spirit anoints (or is anointed with).<sup>267</sup> Thus the noun *unctio* implies a second Spirit-proposition.<sup>268</sup> LG 21's phrase that "the apostles were enriched by Christ with a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit who come down upon them (*ditati ... effusione supervenientis Spiritus*)" contains an example of both types of subclause, for *superveniens* is a participle and *effusio* a noun. Therefore, in addition to stating that the apostles are enriched with the Spirit, the sentence also states that the Spirit comes over the apostles and that there is an outpouring of the Holy Spirit.<sup>269</sup>

Further, some statements make a logical connection between the Spirit and a consequence, and thereby implicitly make a Spirit-proposition. When LG 5 states that Christ pours out the Holy Spirit and that thereby (*unde*) the Church has the mission to announce the Kingdom, it makes in fact two propositions, namely that Christ pours out the Spirit, and that by the Spirit the Church has a certain mission. Admittedly, what exactly the Spirit's role is remains unspecified, yet precisely that is part of a pneumatological analysis. Similarly, LG 59's phrase "it has pleased God not to make a solemn manifestation of the mystery of the human race's salvation before He had poured forth the Spirit (at Pentecost)" not only states that God pours forth the Spirit, but also suggests that this outpouring has a role in manifesting the mystery of salvation.<sup>270</sup>

In another type of cases, causality is suggested by means of an adjective clause. LG 12 describes the body of believers as "hav(ing) the anointing by the Holy One", and thereby implies – without explicitly stating so – that this anointment is the reason that "they cannot be mistaken in belief".<sup>271</sup> Similarly, LG 34's statement that the laity are "wonderfully" (*mirabiliter*) called to bear fruit adds after "laity" the short adjective clause "utpote Christo dicati et Spiritu Sancto uncti". It thereby suggests that the anointment with the Spirit plays a role in the laity's calling, so that the

---

<sup>267</sup> For *unctionem Spiritus* may mean that the Spirit anoints (*genitivus subjectivus*) or that the Spirit is what the faithful are anointed with (*genitivus objectivus*).

<sup>268</sup> For another, more subtle example, see LG 9's statement that the Church constantly renews itself "by the action of the Holy Spirit" (*sub actione Spiritus Sancti*). The fact that the phrase is somewhat vague about what exactly the Spirit does, both by using *sub* and because of the general noun *actio*, should not distract from observing that the phrase relates the Spirit both to renewal and to action, and that it thereby makes a Spirit-proposition.

<sup>269</sup> Depending on the interpretation of the *genitivus* as *objectivus* or *subjectivus*, the Spirit is poured out or the Spirit pours out himself.

<sup>270</sup> For other examples, see especially LG 34. In addition to stating that Christ "vivifies (the laity) with his Spirit", the opening sentence also suggest a relationship between the Spirit and the objective which is articulated, namely that the laity give testimony. Cf. the Latin text: "Supremus et aeternus Sacerdos Christus Iesus, cum etiam per laicos suum testimonium suumque servitium continuare velit, eos suo Spiritu vivificat indesinenterque impellit ad omne opus bonum et perfectum". Further, the words "Spiritu Sancto uncti" in a later sentence explain that the faithful are anointed and imply that thereby the faithful are called to bear fruit. Finally, the conditional clause "si in Spiritu peraguntur" implies that the Spirit has something to do with the transformation of daily life. Cf. also LG 21, where the Spirit is said to be given "ad tanta munera explenda", so that He is implicitly stated to help the apostles and their successors to fulfil their mission.

<sup>271</sup> Cf. the Latin text, "Universitas fidelium, qui unctionem habent a Sancto (cf. 1Io 2,20 et 27), in credendo falli nequit". For another example, see LG 53's statement that the Church, "taught by the Holy Spirit", honors Mary. In addition to stating that the Spirit teaches, the phrase also suggests that the Spirit makes the Church honor Mary.

sentence makes two propositions: the Spirit anoints; the anointment with the Spirit has something to do with the laity's calling.

*Ablativus absolutus* clauses also imply an extra Spirit-proposition. These clauses typically specify that two things happen at the same time, yet only loosely connect these events. Speaking about those who live the evangelical counsels, LG 39 adds “*Spiritu Sancto impellente*”; this brief phrase not only explains that the Spirit impels, but also suggest that the Spirit has something to do with those living the counsels.<sup>272</sup> Similarly, LG 43 explains that Church leadership (*auctoritas Ecclesiae*) has been working hard to guide the religious “*duce Spiritu Sancto*”. In addition to stating that the Spirit leads the Church leadership, this article suggests something else as well, namely that the Church guides the religious with the help of the Spirit.<sup>273</sup>

To these principles there are some exceptions. In some cases, I treat phrases with various verbs as a single proposition, notably when these verbs are somewhat synonymous. When LG 4 specifies that the Spirit “both instructs and directs (the Church) with hierarchical and charismatic gifts”, it uses almost synonymous verbs. That is also the case in the proposition in the same article on the Spirit’s work of rejuvenating and renewing the Church, and also in LG 7’s proposition on the Spirit who “produces and urges” charity amongst the faithful.<sup>274</sup> Further, I will not consider “his Spirit” or “Christ’s Spirit” as implicitly stating that “the Spirit belongs to Christ”. The significance of the words “his” and “Christ’s” is discussed in the theological analysis later in the chapter.<sup>275</sup> In addition, some adjective clauses and *ablativus absolutus* clauses do not imply multiple propositions. Speaking about the freedom of the children of God as a condition for the Kingdom, LG 9 adds the adjective clause “in whose hearts the Holy Spirit dwells as in a temple”. In this case, as there is neither implied causality in relation to freedom or sonship, nor to the Kingdom, the latter is no more than an

---

<sup>272</sup> Cf. the Latin: “*Quae consiliorum praxis, Spiritu Sancto impellente, a multis christianis assumpta (...) praeclarum in mundo fert (...) eiusdem sanctitatis testimonium et exemplum*”.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “*Ipsa autem auctoritas Ecclesiae, duce Spiritu Sancto, ea interpretari, eorum praxim moderari et etiam stabiles inde vivendi formas constituere curavit*”. For another example, see LG 14, “*Catechumeni qui, Spiritu Sancto movente, explicita voluntate ut Ecclesiae incorporarentur expetunt, hoc ipso voto cum ea coniunguntur*”.

<sup>274</sup> For LG 4, cf. the Latin: “*(Spiritus) diversis donis hierarchicis et charismaticis instruit ac dirigit, et (Spiritus) fructibus suis adornat (cf. Eph 4,11-12; 1Cor 12,4; Gal 5,22)*”. However, gifts and fruits are counted as two propositions, as gifts and fruits are distinct themes, cf. the fact that the first two Scripture quotes speak about gifts and the last two about fruits. For LG 7, “*Idem Spiritus (...) corpus unificans, caritatem inter fideles producit et urget*”. Cf. “*iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat*” (LG 4), which I consider to be a single Spirit-proposition; in addition to the almost identical verbs, the *–que* clause too indicates a close connection. Yet when LG 7 states that the Spirit vivifies, unifies and moves, I consider these as distinct verbs and therefore as distinct propositions, even though the verbs are not elaborated further. For similar reasons, I also count “*qui a Spiritu veritatis excitatur et sustentatur*” (LG 12) as two propositions; arouse and sustain are distinct activities.

<sup>275</sup> However, *unus Spiritus* is considered as two propositions. When LG 7 states that “it is one Spirit, who distributes his gifts”, it not only claims that the Spirit distributes his gifts, but also that the Spirit is one.

adjective phrase to “children of God”.<sup>276</sup> Similarly, the *ablativus absolutus* clauses in LG 22 and LG 27 do not imply multiple propositions. In both cases, the main clause makes a proposition on bishops, and the *ablativus* clause speaks about the Church’s structure or harmony, so that the pneumatological phrases function as separate propositions rather than further modifications of the main clause that they are connected with.<sup>277</sup>

In some cases, distinguishing between a single or two propositions is a matter of a more or less debatable choice. In LG 4, I consider the phrase on the Spirit’s indwelling “in the Church and the faithful” to be two propositions, but not the phrase on the Spirit’s “various hierarchical and charismatic gifts”. In both cases, preconciliar theology gives reason to treat the elements distinctly, yet in the latter case, the grammar makes this almost impossible, as “hierarchical” and “charismatic” share the same noun, “gifts”.<sup>278</sup> Similarly, the combinations of a noun and Spirit *gratia Spiritus Sancti* (LG 11, 21), *potentia Spiritus Sancti* (LG 44), *virtus Spiritus Sancti* (LG 50, 64) I consider as a single proposition, as these nouns barely echo a verb. In LG 7, I do not treat the “Unde, si quid patitur ...” phrase as a case of implicit causality, as it is unclear if *Unde* refers back to the preceding Spirit-related sentence or the Christ-related opening sentence of the section.

Finally, it is not unimportant to observe that this strategy of distinguishing Spirit-propositions has a drawback. For it separates a given propositions from the cluster of propositions that it is in fact part of. The phrase in LG 10 that “by the regeneration and anointing (*per unctionem*) of the Holy Spirit the baptized are consecrated as a spiritual dwelling and a holy priesthood” makes two Spirit propositions that are intimately linked: the Spirit who anoints is the Spirit who consecrates. One could even argue that the verbs overlap: anointing means consecrating.<sup>279</sup> Still, making precise distinctions remains a useful heuristic tool, as it allows for a very precise analysis.

A third and final methodological issue remains. For what to look for in those propositions? How to find out how *Lumen gentium* conceives the Holy Spirit? Rather than taking a quick glance, I will meticulously explore the text’s details, so that the type of research in this chapter may be called

---

<sup>276</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “Habet (regnum Dei) pro conditione dignitatem libertatemque filiorum Dei, in quorum cordibus Spiritus Sanctus sicut in templo inhabitat”. For a similar case, see “in quo Spiritus Sanctus eos posuit pascere Ecclesiam Dei” (LG 20). For another example, see LG 14, “qui Spiritum Christi habentes”; having the Spirit is a condition for Church membership; how that condition works remains unclear, so that I consider the reference to make only proposition, namely that members of the Church are described as having the Spirit.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. full text, “In ipso (= collegio), Episcopi (...) propria potestate in bonum fidelium suorum, immo totius Ecclesiae funguntur, Spiritu Sancto organicam structuram eiusque concordiam continenter roborante” (LG 22); “potestas (viz. episcoporum, JM) a suprema et universali potestate non eliditur, sed e contra asseritur, roboratur et vindicatur, Spiritu Sancto constitutam a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia regiminis formam indefectibiliter servante” (LG 27).

<sup>278</sup> Cf. LG 7, “unus et idem in Capite et in membris existens”, which I consider to be one proposition, as this was a common expression, which needed both elements to be complete.

<sup>279</sup> For another example, cf. LG 9, where *renovare* explains what (in this case) *actio* means: “(Ecclesia) sub actione Spiritus Sancti seipsam renovare non desinat”.

*close reading*. The importance of this type of research becomes apparent e.g. in the case of Philips's interpretation of the document's famous opening line on Christ, the light of the peoples. It speaks amongst others of "this holy synod, called together in the Holy Spirit". In his commentary on the text, Philips explained that "Le synode s'attribue le titre de *saint*, parce qu'il se trouve rassemblé dans l'Esprit-Saint et que grâce à l'assistance de celui-ci, il proclamera donc la parole de l'Esprit".<sup>280</sup> *Close reading* reveals that the text contains no verb, so that the text neither explicitly states that the Spirit supports nor explicitly links the Holy Spirit and the synod's holiness. Further one could demonstrate that "in the Spirit" functions as an adverbial nuance to "called together (*congregata*)", and that together these words function as an adjective clause to the "synod" that was also qualified as "holy (*sacrosancta*)". As therefore the reference to the Spirit is an aside to the main argument, which is about Christ the light of the peoples and the Church's vocation to pass on that light, Philips' reading is not warranted by the text.

This example illustrates that *close reading* is of fundamental importance for establishing the meaning of the text. However, as Rush pointed out, a text is a complex reality of aspects such as genre, style, structure, intra- and intertextuality. Because of the overwhelming wealth of textual details, I will focus in this chapter on some aspects that seem especially promising, and leave out others. Three types of aspects in particular I will explore.

In the first place, I will focus on the structure of the text and explore the place of the Spirit-references in it, both on the larger scale of chapters and articles and on the smaller scale of sentences (chapter 3.2). Secondly, I focus on the theological content of *Lumen gentium*'s view of the Spirit. I will especially explore what activities the text specifies, to whom the text relates the Spirit, and how it relates the Spirit to the Father and the Son (chapter 3.3). Thirdly I explore the argumentative significance of the references to the Spirit (chapter 3.4).<sup>281</sup>

---

<sup>280</sup> Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 72. Other commentaries do not, or almost not, comment on this reference. For example, in his extensive, 230 pages long exploration of *Lumen Gentium*'s pneumatology", Mullins mentioned LG 1 only in the evaluative final pages of the reflection, where he lists it as one of the "in the (Holy) Spirit"-texts, see Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 166-398, at 397-398; here he suggested that "The expression «in the (Holy) Spirit ... appears to mean «in communion with the Holy Spirit»". Maraldi highlighted the phrase, "Non possiamo sorvolare sulla frase iniziale della costituzione in LG 1, in cui abbiamo il primo riferimento pneumatologico", but he did in fact no more than repeat what the text states. See Maraldi, *Lo Spirito e la Sposa*, 298. In his exploration of LG 1, Peter Hünemann leaves the pneumatological reference uncommented, see P. Hünemann, "Theologischer Kommentar zur dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche *Lumen gentium*", P. Hünemann, B.J. Hilberath (eds.), *Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 5 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), vol. 2, 263-582, at 355-357.

<sup>281</sup> For a somewhat similar analysis, see A. Fejérdy, *L'Église de l'Esprit du Christ*, especially the first chapter. In it, Fejérdy has analysed the verbs used in relation to the Spirit and the Son, to conclude that the mission of the Son and the Spirit are closely related. While Fejérdy's analysis has the advantage of covering the Council as a whole, it does not delve into the details as much as I will do in this chapter. Moreover, Fejérdy tends to synthesize and – therefore – to overlook differences and tensions between Christologies and pneumatologies in the various documents. For example, Fejérdy writes in conclusion, "Ce que nous avons constaté d'emblée à partir des documents conciliaires, c'est l'unité profonde de la mission du Christ et

## 3.2 Structural Analysis

On the basis of the presupposition that the structure of the text itself reveals something, in this section my research will remain on the surface of the text. I analyse the place of the Spirit-propositions in the general structure of *Lumen gentium* on two levels, namely the level of the eight chapters and its sixty-nine articles, and the more detailed level of sentences. At what places in the document does *Lumen gentium* mention the Holy Spirit, and how many times? Where does *Lumen gentium* concentrate its pneumatological reflection? What clauses are used, main clauses or subclauses, and what is their proportion? The question that arises then is, what conclusions can be drawn?

### 3.2.1 Chapters and Articles

Figure one on the next page gives an overview of the Spirit references in *Lumen gentium*. It offers information at three levels. The dark grey bar at the top lists the total number of articles, the total number of Spirit-propositions for the document as a whole and the average number of propositions per section. The lighter grey bars render the number of articles and the number of Spirit-propositions per chapter. The white bars give the number of propositions per section.

---

du Saint-Esprit”, Fejérdy, *L’Église de l’Esprit du Christ*, 139. On the basis of *Lumen gentium*, that conclusion is lacking both in nuance and critical insight.



<i>Lumen gentium</i>										69	184	2.7
<b>Chapter 1. The Mystery of the Church</b>										8	42	5.3
LG 1	LG 2	LG 3	LG 4	LG 5	LG 6	LG 7	LG 8					
1	2	0	18	3	1	15	2					
<b>Chapter 2. The People of God</b>										9	44	4.9
LG 9	LG 10	LG 11	LG 12	LG 13	LG 14	LG 15	LG 16	LG 17				
6	2	4	14	7	3	4	0	4				
<b>Chapter 3. The Hierarchy</b>										12	31	2.6
LG 18	LG 19	LG 20	LG 21	LG 22	LG 23	LG 24	LG 25	LG 26	LG 27	LG 28	LG 29	
0	5	1	7	1	0	3	11	1	1	1	0	
<b>Chapter 4. The Laity</b>										9	10	1.1
LG 30	LG 31	LG 32	LG 33	LG 34	LG 35	LG 36	LG 37	LG 38				
0	0	3	0	7	0	0	0	0				
<b>Chapter 5. Holiness</b>										4	14	3.5
LG 39	LG 40	LG 41	LG 42									
6	4	2	2									
<b>Chapter 6. The Religious</b>										5	7	1.4
LG 43	LG 44	LG 45	LG 46	LG 47								
2	2	3	0	0								
<b>Chapter 7. Eschatology and the Saints</b>										4	17	4.3
LG 48	LG 49	LG 50	LG 51									
12	2	2	1									
<b>Chapter 8. Mary</b>										18	19	1.1
LG 52	LG 53	LG 54	LG 55	LG 56	LG 57	LG 58	LG 59	LG 60	LG 61	LG 62	LG 63	
1	3	0	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	
LG 64	LG 65	LG 66	LG 67	LG 68	LG 69							
3	2	1	0	0	0							

**Figure 1.** The division of Spirit-propositions in absolute and relative terms over *Lumen gentium*.

Figure one shows that the document as a whole features one hundred and eighty-four Spirit-propositions. That is twice the number of Spirit-references, which amounts to ninety. As the document has eight chapters, the average number of propositions per chapter is twenty-three. However, as the length of the chapters differs significantly, a more meaningful figure is the average of 2.7 propositions per section.

Secondly, figure one also reveals considerable differences between the chapters, both in absolute and in relative terms. As the chapters are unequal in length, in this case too the relative figure is more meaningful. Chapters one and two stand out, with an average of 5.3 and 4.9 Spirit-propositions per section. Chapters five and seven have a relatively high density too, and chapter three corresponds to the average number of Spirit-propositions. Conversely, chapters four, six and eight have a relatively low number of Spirit-propositions, varying from 1.1 to 1.4 per section, which is half the average number of Spirit-propositions or less.

Thirdly, the figure shows that the number of propositions differs considerably between the various articles, for some have many propositions, and others have none. Five articles stand out for

their high number of Spirit references: LG 4, on the Holy Spirit, with eighteen propositions; LG 7, on the mystical body, with fifteen propositions, and LG 12, on *sensus fidei* and charisms, with fourteen propositions; and LG 25, on the magisterium, with eleven propositions, and LG 48, on the Church's eschatological reality, with twelve propositions. By contrast, fourteen articles – some 20% of the total number of articles – have no reference to the Spirit. It is especially noteworthy that the chapter on the laity and the chapter on Mary have more articles without than with Spirit-references. The chapter on the religious has a relatively high number of articles without Spirit-references too.

Although for a proper evaluation of these facts, more information about the content of the pneumatological propositions is needed, some first conclusions can be drawn. In the first place, these figures show that *Lumen gentium*'s attention for the Holy Spirit is unevenly divided. The document treats some ecclesiological aspects, such as the Church's transcendent dimension as a mystery (chapter one), in a considerably more pneumatological manner than other aspects, such as the laity (chapter four). Similarly, the people of God (chapter two) and the chapter on the eschatology the Church and the saints (chapter seven) are developed with ample reference to the Holy Spirit, but not so for the chapter on the religious (chapter five) and Mary (chapter eight).

In the second place, even in chapters with a high average number of Spirit-propositions, some ecclesiological aspects are considered in relation to the Holy Spirit, and other are not. For example, after an opening article with a high number of Spirit references, the second chapter (on the people of God) continues with a reflection on the royal priesthood with some propositions on the Spirit in LG 10-11 and very many in LG 12. Similarly, chapter seven (on the Church's eschatology and the saints) opens with an article with many Spirit-propositions, after which the remaining three articles feature only a few.

Thus some topics evoke more pneumatological considerations than others. Is that because some topics simply need more pneumatology or are intrinsically more Spirit-bound? Do abstract theological realities, such as mystery, people of God, holiness and eschatology, need a higher number of Spirit-propositions than concrete ones, such as the hierarchy and (especially) the laity and the religious? Or does *Lumen gentium* in some cases overlook the Holy Spirit?

### 3.2.2 Main Clauses and Subclauses

At the lower level of sentences, a similar structural analysis can be conducted. Does *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology situate itself mainly at the level of main clauses or subclauses? The significance of exploring clauses lies in the fact that, generally speaking, the text's main message is placed in main clauses and further qualified in subclauses. Where does *Lumen gentium* discuss the Holy Spirit? Once again, the objective is to get an impression of the place of pneumatology in the structure of *Lumen gentium*.

In some cases, the distinction between those two types of propositions is relatively straightforward. When LG 4 explains that after Christ had completed his mission, “the Holy Spirit was sent”, and that the Spirit prays in the faithful, these are both main-clause propositions. In other cases, Spirit-propositions are situated in subclauses. When *Lumen gentium*’s opening sentence specifies in a subclause that “this holy council (*synodus*)”, which wishes to share the light of Christ, is “called together (*congregata*) in the Holy Spirit” (LG 1), this reference to the Spirit situates itself at the level of a subclause. For the adjective participle *congregata*, set apart by commas, is related to *synodus* and implicitly states “qui est congregata”.

Yet the methodological decision to focus on propositions rather than references makes it often complicated to establish if a proposition is part of a main clause or a subclause. For a Spirit-reference that is situated in a subclause may imply a main clause Spirit-proposition, such as when LG 12 adds the brief subclause “who have the anointment by the Holy Spirit” to its explanation that the body of the faithful as a whole cannot err in matters of faith. “By the Holy Spirit” is obviously part of a subclause. However, the single reference to the Holy Spirit implies two propositions: the body of the faithful cannot err in matters of faith through the Holy Spirit, who has anointed them. In that interpretation, “through the Holy Spirit” is a main clause proposition, and “who has anointed them” is a subclause.<sup>282</sup>

Similarly, speaking about the hierarchy’s government of the religious LG 43 adds the brief clause specifying the hierarchy as “obediently following the impulses of the Holy Spirit” (*Spiritus Sancti impulsus dociliter sequens*). In fact it thereby makes two Spirit-propositions, namely that the hierarchy governs the religious through the Holy Spirit, who gives impulses (*impulsus*) that the hierarchy follows (*sequens*). The former is a main clause proposition, the latter is a subclause proposition.

Yet the implicit proposition may also be part of a further subclause. When LG 2 states that “(Ecclesia) effuso Spiritu est manifesta”, this statement is part of a subclause in so far as *effuso Spiritu* is part of an adjective clause specifying the word Church: “All who believe in Christ, He planned to assemble in the holy Church, which ... *effuso Spiritu est manifesta*”. The single reference *effuso Spiritu* makes two Spirit-propositions, for it states both that the Church was manifested by the Spirit and that He has been poured out. The latter proposition too must be considered to be part of a subclause too, namely an adjective clause to specify the word Spirit.

There are various types of subclauses. In addition to adjective subclauses, such as those in LG 1 and LG 2, the text features final clauses, such as “so that believers would have through Christ access to the Father in one Spirit” (LG 4), or instrumental ones, such as “by communicating his Spirit” (LG 7). Yet what subclause exactly is used does not matter for the current purpose; it suffices to use the general distinction between main clauses and subclauses.

---

<sup>282</sup> One may also translate “with whom they have been anointed”.

With these distinctions in mind, where in the structure of the sentences does *Lumen gentium* make its Spirit-propositions? Is there a pattern, and if so, what is that pattern and what does it suggest? Figure two on page 76 gives an overview of the distribution of the Spirit-propositions over main clauses and subclauses. The dark grey bar demonstrates that the total number of one hundred and eighty-four Spirit-propositions features in main clauses in sixty five cases and in subclauses in one hundred and nineteen cases. The lighter grey bars indicate the total number of Spirit-propositions per chapter and the number featuring in main clauses and subclauses. The white bars indicate the number of main clause propositions and subclause propositions per section.

<b><i>Lumen gentium</i></b>											<b>184 65 / 119</b>
<b>Chapter 1. The Mystery of the Church</b>											<b>42 20 / 22</b>
LG 1	LG 2	LG 3	LG 4	LG 5	LG 6	LG 7	LG 8				
-	-	-	12 m	1 m	1 m	5 m	1 m				
1 s	2 s	-	6 s	2 s	-	10 s	1 s				
<b>Chapter 2. The People of God</b>											<b>44 16 / 28</b>
LG 9	LG 10	LG 11	LG 12	LG 13	LG 14	LG 15	LG 16	LG 17			
-	1 m	2 m	7 m	2 m	1 m	2 m	-	1 m			
6 s	1 s	2 s	7 s	5 s	2 s	3 s	-	3 s			
<b>Chapter 3. The Hierarchy</b>											<b>31 6 / 25</b>
LG 18	LG 19	LG 20	LG 21	LG 22	LG 23	LG 24	LG 25	LG 26	LG 27	LG 28	LG 29
-	-	-	1 m	-	-	2 m	2 m	1 m	-	-	-
-	5 s	1 s	6 s	1 s	-	1 s	9 s	-	1 s	1 s	-
<b>Chapter 4. The Laity</b>											<b>10 4 / 6</b>
LG 30	LG 31	LG 32	LG 33	LG 34	LG 35	LG 36	LG 37	LG 38			
-	-	1 m	-	3 m	-	-	-	-			
-	-	2 s	-	4 s	-	-	-	-			
<b>Chapter 5. Holiness</b>											<b>14 5 / 9</b>
LG 39	LG 40	LG 41	LG 42								
2 m	1 m	1 m	1 m								
4 s	3 s	1 s	1 s								
<b>Chapter 6. The Religious</b>											<b>7 3 / 4</b>
LG 43	LG 44	LG 45	LG 46	LG 47							
1 m	1 m	1 m	-	-							
1 s	1 s	2 s	-	-							
<b>Chapter 7. Eschatology and the Saints</b>											<b>17 8 / 9</b>
LG 48	LG 49	LG 50	LG 51								
6 m	1 m	1 m	-								
6 s	1 s	1 s	1 s								
<b>Chapter 8. Mary</b>											<b>19 3 / 16</b>
LG 52	LG 53	LG 54	LG 55	LG 56	LG 57	LG 58	LG 59	LG 60	LG 61	LG 62	LG 63
1 m	1 m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	2 s	-	-	1 s	-	-	6 s	-	-	-	2 s
LG 64	LG 65	LG 66	LG 67	LG 68	LG 69						
1 m	-	-	-	-	-						
2 s	2 s	1 s	-	-	-						

**Figure 2.** Main clause and subclause Spirit-propositions in *Lumen gentium*

Figure two shows that for the document as a whole, Spirit-references are almost twice as often part of subclauses. Sixty-five Spirit-propositions are part of a main clause over against one hundred and nineteen in subclauses, or 35% over against 65%. In the second place, it shows that, at the level of chapters, there are no chapters with a majority of main clause Spirit-propositions. Chapters one and seven stand out for their relatively high number of Spirit-references in main clauses, namely 48% and 47%. The chapters on the laity and the religious have a relatively high number of main clauses too, but

in these chapters the total number of Spirit-propositions is much lower. By contrast, the chapters on the hierarchy and Mary stand out for their relatively low number of main clause Spirit-propositions, namely 19% (six out of thirty-one, and three out of sixteen). Chapters two and five have an average number of main clause and subclause propositions. Finally, figure two reveals that some articles stand out. If one zooms in on the articles with ten or more Spirit-propositions, article LG 4 stands out for having a majority of main clause propositions. Having a relatively high number of main clause propositions, articles LG 12 and LG 48 deserve to be mentioned too. LG 7 features the average number and LG 25 has a relatively high number of subclauses.

Although once again for a proper evaluation of these facts additional research is needed, some preliminary and tentative conclusions may be drawn. In the first place, these figures show that *Lumen gentium* tends to articulate the Spirit's role in subclauses. In so far as main clause propositions introduce the core of what is being communicated and subclauses further develop and qualify that core, the place of the Spirit-propositions may indicate that the Spirit is not of primary importance but rather has a supporting significance. Secondly, *Lumen gentium* articulates the Spirit's role in the Church differently in different chapters and in different articles. This conclusion confirms the findings in the previous section. It also raises the exact same questions as I formulated there: does this mean that some topics demand one type of pneumatology and others articles another one, or rather that *Lumen gentium* is not consistent in using main clauses or subclauses for its Spirit-statments?

### **Intermediary Conclusion**

These findings provide a first impression of how *Lumen gentium* conceives the Holy Spirit. The average number of 2.7 Spirit-propositions per article proves that the Spirit is everything but forgotten. Further, the high relative number of 65% subclauses suggests that *Lumen gentium* tends to make Spirit-propositions to qualify rather than to develop the essence of the issues under consideration. Yet if one zooms in on specific chapters or articles, *Lumen gentium*'s view of the Spirit seems to be highly diverse. Some chapters and some articles feature markedly more Spirit-propositions than others, and similarly for main clause or subclause propositions. Does this indicate that "the" pneumatology of *Lumen gentium* does not exist, as the document conceives the Spirit differently in different contexts? Or even that *Lumen gentium* at times forgets the Holy Spirit? The analysis of the theological content of *Lumen gentium*'s Spirit-propositions in the following section will enable me to answer that question.

### 3.3 Theological Analysis

After analysing *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology from a structural perspective, I turn in this section to its theological content. I focus on three aspects. The activities that the Holy Spirit is said to undertake seem to be a natural starting point for exploring the content of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology (3.3.1). In the second place, it seems worthwhile to analyse the Spirit's ecclesial addressees (3.3.2). Finally, as the Spirit is the third person of the Trinity, I explore how *Lumen gentium* conceives the relationship between the Spirit and the Father and the Son (3.3.3).

#### 3.3.1 Activities

An exploration of the Spirit's activities should start with the observation that the Spirit is related in three different manners to activities, namely as actively involved, as passively involved, and as somehow involved. The Spirit is described as actively involved in propositions such as that "the Spirit leads the Church into all truth" (LG 4) and that "the Spirit distributes his various gifts" (LG 7). The Spirit has also an active role in passively formulated propositions, such as that the sense of faith is "aroused and sustained by the Holy Spirit" (LG 12). Further, the category of active propositions includes *participium*-statements such as "Christ sent down his lifegiving (*vivificantem*) Spirit" (LG 48) or *ablativus absolutus*-clauses such as *duce Spiritu Sancto* (LG 43).<sup>283</sup> Finally, statements without a verb but with an implied causality may also imply an active view of the Spirit. When LG 12 discusses the infallibility of the faithful, it states not only in an explicit manner that the Spirit anoints, but also implies that He makes infallible.<sup>284</sup> Similarly, when LG 19 recalls the promise that the apostles will have received the Holy Spirit and adds "and you will be my witnesses", it implies that the Spirit empowers to bear witness.<sup>285</sup> In all these cases, the Spirit is conceived as actively involved in the Church.

In other cases, the Spirit is introduced as passively involved in the Church, especially as the object of Christ's action or as the instrument that Christ works with or through. In stating that "by communicating his Spirit, Christ mystically constituted his (sisters and) brothers (...) as his own body", LG 7 describes the Spirit as communicated by Christ, and therefore as the (passive) object of Christ's action. The phrase also implies that Christ constitutes his body by means of or through the Spirit, so that the Spirit is conceived as the instrument of Christ's action. In LG 48, this is stated in explicit terms: Christ constitutes the Church *per Spiritum*. In a small number of cases, the Spirit is passively conceived in other contexts than Christ. The faithful are said to possess the Spirit (LG 14)

---

<sup>283</sup> The phrase implies the verb *esse*, conjugated as *ente*.

<sup>284</sup> Cf. the Latin text: "Universitas fidelium, qui unctionem habent a Sancto (cf. 1Io 2,20 et 27), in credendo falli nequit".

<sup>285</sup> Cf. the Latin text: "In qua missione die Pentecostes plene confirmati sunt (cf. Act 2,1-36) secundum promissum Domini: «Accipietis virtutem supervenientis Spiritus Sancti in vos, et eritis mihi testes ...»".

and the bishops are said to minister the Spirit (LG 21). In both cases, the Spirit does not act himself, but undergoes. In a small number of cases, the Spirit is described in a receiving role, such as when the social structure of the Church is said to serve the Spirit (LG 8), or when the Spirit is said to receive our worship (LG 66).<sup>286</sup>

Thirdly, in some cases the text says no more about the Spirit's involvement than that He is somehow involved, leaving open what exactly this involvement entails. That is the case when the Council describes itself as "gathered in the Holy Spirit" (LG 1) or when Christ is said to have established a new people of God "in the Spirit" (LG 9). In both cases, the text clearly relates the Spirit to the topic at hand, but does not specify what the Spirit's role is; the Spirit is conceived as somehow involved. That is also the case in LG 9's phrase that "the Church does, *sub actione Spiritus*, not cease from renewing itself". For in addition to stating that the Spirit acts, the phrase also implies that the Church continuously renews herself by (or literally "under") the Spirit. While the former statement is active, the latter does not specify what exactly the Spirit's involvement consists in beyond that He is somehow involved. Another example is that Christ is "incarnate of the Holy Spirit (*de Spiritu Sancto*) from the Virgin Mary (*ex Maria Virgine*)" (LG 52).

In some cases, the grammar is open for multiple interpretations, so that it is not clear what type of involvement is intended. Phrases such as *per Spiritus Sancti unctionem* (LG 10) or *sub lumine Spiritus* (LG 25) may have an active or an instrumental meaning, depending on the interpretation of the *genitivus*. Therefore, these phrases may mean that the Spirits anoints or illumines, or that the Spirit is what Christ anoints or illumines with. Similarly, *signati Spiritu Sancto* (LG 48) may mean signed by the Spirit or signed with the Spirit. Implicit causal statements such as "*effuso Spiritu* (the Church) is manifested" (LG 2) also belong to this category. For in addition to (implicitly) stating that the Spirit is poured out, which is a passive involvement, the phrase also states that the Church is manifested either by the Spirit, that is, by his action, or with the Spirit, that is, by Christ, who uses the Spirit as his instrument.<sup>287</sup> That is also true for the statement on the gift of the Spirit to the hierarchy in view of their office (*ad tanta munera explenda*) in LG 21; it is not clear if the Spirit is actively or passively involved.

In the light of the earlier observation that *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology differs significantly from one chapter to another, and also from one article to another, it may be useful to specify per chapter and per article how the Spirit's involvement is articulated. This I have done in figure three on the next page. The dark grey bar indicates the document's total number of Spirit-propositions, followed by the number of these featuring an active involvement (A), a passive involvement (P), a 'somehow' involvement (S) and an unclear involvement (U).

<sup>286</sup> Cf. the Latin text: "socialis compago Ecclesiae Spiritui Christi, eam vivificanti, ad augmentum corporis inservit" (LG 8) and "cultu(s) adorationis, qui Verbo incarnato aequae ac Patri et Spiritui Sancto exhibetur" (LG 66).

<sup>287</sup> For a similar case, see LG 59's opening sentence. Does the poured-out Spirit himself manifest the Church (called here "the sacrament of human salvation"), or does God (Father, Christ?) manifest the Spirit through Him?



<b><i>Lumen gentium</i></b>								<b>184</b>	<b>101 A</b>	<b>48 P</b>	<b>24 S</b>	<b>11 U</b>
<b>Chapter 1. The Mystery of the Church</b>								<b>42</b>	<b>26 A</b>	<b>9 P</b>	<b>5 S</b>	<b>2 U</b>
LG 1	LG 2	LG 3	LG 4	LG 5	LG 6	LG 7	LG 8					
-	-	-	14 A	-	-	11 A	1 A					
-	1 P	-	2 P	2 P	-	3 P	1 P					
1 S	-	-	2 S	-	1 S	1 S	-					
-	1 U	-	-	1 U	-	-	-					
<b>Chapter 2. The People of God</b>								<b>43</b>	<b>25 A</b>	<b>9 P</b>	<b>7 S</b>	<b>3 U</b>
LG 9	LG 10	LG 11	LG 12	LG 13	LG 14	LG 15	LG 16	LG 17				
2 A	-	2 A	11 A	3 A	2 A	3 A	-	2 A				
1 P	1 P	2 P	2 P	1 P	1 P	-	-	1 P				
3 S	-	-	-	2 S	-	1 S	-	1 S				
-	1 U	-	1 U	1 U	-	-	-	-				
<b>Chapter 3. The Hierarchy</b>								<b>31</b>	<b>17 A</b>	<b>8 P</b>	<b>4 S</b>	<b>2 U</b>
LG 18	LG 19	LG 20	LG 21	LG 22	LG 23	LG 24	LG 25	LG 26	LG 27	LG 28	LG 29	
-	4 A	1 A	2 A	1 A	-	1 A	7 A	-	1 A	-	-	
-	1 P	-	4 P	-	-	2 P	1 P	-	-	-	-	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 S	1 S	-	1 S	-	
-	-	-	1 U	-	-	-	1 U	-	-	-	-	
<b>Chapter 4. The Laity</b>								<b>10</b>	<b>5 A</b>	<b>3 P</b>	<b>1 S</b>	<b>1 U</b>
LG 30	LG 31	LG 32	LG 33	LG 34	LG 35	LG 36	LG 37	LG 38				
-	-	3 A	-	2 A	-	-	-	-				
-	-	-	-	3 P	-	-	-	-				
-	-	-	-	1 S	-	-	-	-				
-	-	-	-	1 U	-	-	-	-				
<b>Chapter 5. Holiness</b>								<b>14</b>	<b>7 A</b>	<b>6 P</b>	<b>1 S</b>	<b>-</b>
LG 39	LG 40	LG 41	LG 42									
3 A	2 A	2 A	-									
2 P	2 P	-	2 P									
1 S	-	-	-									
-	-	-	-									
<b>Chapter 6. The Religious</b>								<b>7</b>	<b>5 A</b>	<b>2 P</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>
LG 43	LG 44	LG 45	LG 46	LG 47								
2 A	1 A	2 A	-	-								
-	1 P	1 P	-	-								
-	-	-	-	-								
-	-	-	-	-								
<b>Chapter 7. Eschatology and the Saints</b>								<b>17</b>	<b>7 A</b>	<b>6 P</b>	<b>3 S</b>	<b>1 U</b>
LG 48	LG 49	LG 50	LG 51									
5 A	1 A	1 A	-									
5 P	1 P	-	-									
1 S	-	1 S	1 S									
1 U	-	-	-									
<b>Chapter 8. Mary</b>								<b>19</b>	<b>9 A</b>	<b>5 P</b>	<b>3 S</b>	<b>2 U</b>
LG 52	LG 53	LG 54	LG 55	LG 56	LG 57	LG 58	LG 59	LG 60	LG 61	LG 62	LG 63	
-	2 A	-	-	1 A	-	-	1 A	-	-	-	2 A	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 P	-	-	-	-	
1 S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-	1 U	-	-	-	-	-	1 U	-	-	-	-	
LG 64	LG 65	LG 66	LG 67	LG 68	LG 69							
2 A	1 A	-	-	-	-							
-	-	1 P	-	-	-							
1 S	1 S	-	-	-	-							
-	-	-	-	-	-							

**Figure 3.** Four types of Spirit-involvement in *Lumen gentium*: A (active), P (passive), S (somehow involved), U (unclear).

Figure three shows firstly shows that 55% of the propositions articulate the Spirit's involvement in an active manner (one hundred and one out of hundred and eighty-four), and that 26% of the propositions

conceive the Spirit in a passive manner (forty-eight out of one hundred and eighty four). The other two types are relatively rare.

Secondly, figure three shows that at the level of chapters, the first chapter and the chapter on the religious stand out for their relatively high percentage of active propositions. Chapter one has a 62% majority of active propositions and chapter six has even 71%, albeit with a small total number of references. Other chapters have slightly more or slightly less than the average number of active Spirit-propositions. Further, the relative number of passive and “somehow” propositions differs somewhat from one chapter to another, but the differences are too subtle for drawing conclusions.

Especially at the level of articles, the differences are remarkable. If we look at the articles with five Spirit-propositions or more, articles LG 4, LG 7, LG 12 and LG 19 have between 74% and 80% active propositions.<sup>288</sup> Article LG 25 has a high average of active propositions too, namely 64% (seven out of eleven). By contrast, articles LG 13, LG 39 and LG 48 have between 42% and 50% active, and articles LG 9, LG 21, LG 34 and LG 59 have between 17% and 33%. That means that the last group of articles has less than half relative number of active Spirit propositions in comparison to articles LG 4, LG 7 and LG 12. In some of these articles, not active but passive propositions make out the majority, namely 57% in LG 21 (four out of seven) and 67% in LG 59 (four out of six). LG 34 and LG 48 feature a relatively high number of passive propositions of 43% (three out of seven) and 42% (five out of twelve).

What is the significance of these numbers? They reveal that also from the perspective of activities, *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology is diverse. *Lumen gentium* describes the Spirit in ways that vary from chapter to chapter and from article to section. The Spirit’s role may be articulated in active terms, such as in the case of the Spirit-centered reflection in LG 4 and the reflection on *sensus fidei* and charisms in LG 12. In other cases, such as the introductory reflection on the people of God and eschatology in LG 9 and LG 48, *Lumen gentium* articulates the Spirit’s role in a less active manner, and in articles LG 21 and LG 59 even primarily in a passive manner.<sup>289</sup>

So far I have explored how the Spirit is related to activities, namely in an active or passive manner, or as somehow involved. Yet what is the content of the Spirit’s involvement? What does the Spirit do? As it is impossible to analyse this per article or per chapter, I will answer this question for the Constitution as a whole. Inasmuch as the Spirit is described as having an active involvement, *Lumen gentium* does not specify one single most important activity but rather a host of activities. Nine

---

<sup>288</sup> LG 4 has 78% (14 out of 18); LG 7 has 74% (11 out of 15); LG 12 has 79% (11 out of 14) and LG 19 has even 80% (4 out of 5).

<sup>289</sup> The fact that active and passive propositions are repeatedly related does not substantially alter this conclusion. For example, when LG 48 states that “Christ (...) sent his lifegiving Spirit down on his disciples and through Him He constituted His Body which is the Church as the universal sacrament of salvation”, it contains both active (*vivificantem*) and passive (*Christus immisit Spiritum, per eum*) propositions. Cf. the Latin text: “Christus (...) Spiritum suum vivificantem in discipulos immisit et per eum Corpus suum quod est Ecclesia ut universale salutis sacramentum constituit”.

types of activities are mentioned more than two times: to sanctify, to vivify, to bring truth, to unify, to give gifts and charisms, to move, to strengthen, to act, and to work in Mary. I will briefly present these activities, in the order in which they appear in *Lumen gentium*.

Firstly, the Holy Spirit is stated to sanctify. LG 4 explains that “on the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit was sent so that He might continually sanctify the Church”. LG 12 speaks of the Spirit’s sanctifying role in the context of Church leadership and links it with hierarchy and charisms. According to LG 15, the Holy Spirit works “with his sanctifying power” in non-Catholic Christians. LG 41 implies that the Spirit is actively involved in holiness when it states that “one holiness is cultivated by all who are led by the Spirit (*qui a Spiritu Dei aguntur*)”.<sup>290</sup>

Secondly, the Holy Spirit is said to give life or to be life-giving. LG 7 states that the Spirit “gives life to the whole body (*vivificat*), unifies it and moves it”, in view of the spiritual renewal in Christ, and that the Spirit may be compared to the human body’s “principle of life or soul”. By means of the brief *participium* clause *vivificans eam*, LG 8 briefly recalls that the Spirit gives life to the social structures of the Church. Quoting from the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed, LG 13 calls the Spirit *Dominum et vivificantem*, and in LG 48, Christ is said to have sent his “life-giving (*vivificantem*) Spirit”.<sup>291</sup>

Thirdly, the Spirit is related to truth. LG 4 states that “the Spirit leads the Church into all truth” (*in omnem veritatem inducit*). LG 12 explains that the body of the faithful has a supernatural *sensus fidei* that is “aroused and sustained by the Spirit of truth”; it also alludes at the Spirit’s involvement in ensuring infallibility *in credendo* and in truly accepting the word of God. According to LG 53, the Church “has been taught by the Holy Spirit” to honour Mary. In article LG 25, various explicit and implicit propositions relate the Spirit to truth. The Spirit is stated to “enlighten” (*praelucente Spiritu veritatis*) and suggested to be involved in infallibility, in the magisterium’s exercise of its teaching office, and in making the magisterial definitions *irreformabiles*.

Fourthly, the Spirit is said to bring unity. LG 4 states that “the Spirit makes the Church one (*unificat*) in communion and ministry”. In addition to featuring the pneumatological participle clause *corpus unificans*, LG 7 also states that the Spirit “gives life to the whole body, unifies (*unificat*) it and moves it”. Finally, LG 13 calls the Spirit “the principle of union and unity (*congregationis et unitatis*)”. The proposition that the Spirit is one seems to belong to this category as well, for example, “there is one Spirit (*unus est Spiritus*) who distributes his various gifts” (LG 7). Articles LG 4, LG 13 and LG 32 contain similar propositions. In some cases, the Spirit’s active involvement in fostering or creating unity is hinted at. LG 25 suggests the Spirit’s involvement in preserving the unity in faith of the Christian people, LG 32 states that the Spirit “operates” and suggests that this makes diversity into unity, and LG 49 states that believers in Christ possess his Spirit and are thereby joined together.

---

<sup>290</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “In variis vitae generibus et officiis una sanctitas excolitur ab omnibus, qui a Spiritu Dei aguntur”.

<sup>291</sup> Cf. LG 4, which calls the Spirit *Spiritus vitae*, although it immediately qualifies that proposition by adding that the Father brings life through the Spirit.

Fifthly, LG 4, LG 7 and LG 12 speak about the Spirit as leading through hierarchy and charisms. LG 4 states that the Spirit “both instructs and directs (*instruit and dirigit*) (the Church) with hierarchical and charismatic gifts”. LG 7 adds that “the Spirit distributes his various gifts for the good of the Church according to his own riches and the needs of the ministries” and specifies that “the Spirit himself makes even the charismatics subject to their authority”. LG 12 too appreciates the Spirit’s role in charisms, stating that the holy Spirit not only sanctifies and guides the people of God by means of the sacraments and the ministries and adorns it with virtues, he also apportions his gifts «to each individually as He wills» (1 Cor 12,11), and among the faithful of every rank he distributes special graces by which He renders them fit and ready to undertake the various tasks and offices which help the renewal and the building up of the Church. These are called charisms later in the same section.

Sixthly, the Spirit is said to “move” the mystical body (LG 7), to “move” catechumens, thereby making them desire to join the Church (LG 14), and to “move” Christians inwardly, thereby making them love God and one another (LG 40).

Further, the Spirit is said to strengthen (*speciale Spiritus robore ditantur*) those who receive the sacrament of confirmation (LG 11). According to LG 15, the Spirit has even “strengthened” (*roboravit*) some non-Catholic Christians to the point of giving their life. In more abstract terms, the Spirit is said to “constantly strengthen (*roborante*) the Church’s organic structure and harmony” (LG 22).

Repeatedly, the text speaks of the Spirit’s active involvement in a somewhat general manner, through words that are more or less synonymous to “working”, such as *agere* and *actio*, *assistentia*, *operari*. The Spirit is said to “act” (*sub actione*) in the Church for renewal (LG 9), to “operate” in those who hear the gospel, in order to receive it (LG 19), to “assist” (*sub assistentia Spiritus*) the hierarchy in its teaching office and to “act” (*actionem*) in the Church (LG 25). Moreover, the “one Spirit” is said to “operate” the diversity of gifts and ministries in the Church (LG 32) and to “work” (*aguntur*) in faithful so that they live holy lives (LG 41). Further, the Spirit is said to work in the Church through the religious (LG 44) and to “act upon us” (*super nos agit*) in the liturgy (LG 50).

Finally, the Holy Spirit is actively involved in Mary, especially in relation to her divine motherhood. In one case, the word is “forming” Mary into a new creation, in two other cases, the Spirit is said to have “overshadowed” Mary, and in two cases the Spirit’s involvement is implied.<sup>292</sup> LG 53 hints at the Spirit’s active role in making the Church honor Mary.

Other activities are mentioned two or one time. According to LG 4, the Spirit “dwells in the Church and in the hearts of the faithful as in a temple” (see LG 9).<sup>293</sup> While LG 4 explicitly states that

<sup>292</sup> See LG 56, “quasi a Spiritu Sancto plasmata novamque creaturam formatam”; LG 59, “qui (viz. Spiritus) in Annuntiatione ipsam iam obumbraverat”, and LG 63, “Spiritu Sancto obumbrata”, with the implication that the Spirit enables Mary to give birth to Christ; LG 65 implies that too.

<sup>293</sup> Cf. LG 7, where the Spirit is said to “be (*existens*) one and the same in the Head and the members (of the mystical body, JM)”.

the Spirit “prays in them and bears witness to their adoption as children”, LG 48 hints at the Spirit’s involvement in prayer and sonship when it states that “signed with the Holy Spirit (...), we really are called and are children of God” and that “possessing the first fruits of the Spirit we groan within ourselves and desire to be with Christ”. The Spirit is said to embellish the Church with his “fruits” (LG 4) and with his “virtues” (LG 12),<sup>294</sup> to “rejuvenate and renew the Church” (LG 4, also LG 9), to lead the Church to eschatological fulness (LG 4) and to “speak to Jesus” (LG 4). Further, the Spirit is said to be the source of the Church’s mission to preach the Kingdom (LG 5), to “produce and urge charity” (LG 7, also LG 40), to anoint (LG 12), to “arouse an active desire” (*desiderium actionemque suscitāt*) for unity amongst non-Catholic Christians (LG 15) and to “compell” the Church and thereby makes it cooperate with God’s design (LG 17). The Spirit is also said to “come over” (*superveniens*) the apostles (LG 19, LG 21), to “have placed” the bishops as shepherds of the “flock” (LG 20) and to “serve” the Church in the form Christ has instituted in it (LG 27). Implicitly, the Spirit is said to make the hierarchy act in the person of Christ (LG 21) and to strengthen the bishops for their missionary duty (LG 24). To that comes that the Spirit is said to “produce fruits” in the faithful (LG 39), to “impel” (*impellente*) them, and thereby to make them embrace the evangelical councils (LG 39) and to make them follow. LG 34 implies a similar function in relation to bearing fruit and making daily life a spiritual offering. Further, the Holy Spirit is said to “lead” (*duce*) the hierarchy (LG 43), for which the Spirit is also stated to “give impulses” (*impulsus*) (LG 45), in order to help the hierarchy in their governing role (LG 43, LG 45). Finally, the Spirit is called the eschatological gift or *pignus hereditatis nostrae* and *primitias Spiritus* (LG 48) and has a role in the Church bringing forth sons (LG 65).

This overview leads to three conclusions concerning *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology. In the first place, in so far as the Spirit’s involvement in the Church is articulated in an active form, the Spirit is conceived in a multidimensional manner. There is not a single main activity, or a few most important ones, but nine. Therefore, I cannot agree with Mullins’s claim that the core of *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology is the Spirit’s mission to “continually sanctify the Church”.<sup>295</sup> Secondly, the activities mentioned are remarkably diverse. Thirdly, although *Lumen gentium* is in most cases quite specific on what the Spirit does, such as unifying or sanctifying, in some cases, *Lumen gentium* is somewhat vague. Verbs like “move” and the cluster of activities related to “acting” leave unspecified what exactly the Spirit does. They specify that the Spirit is actively involved, but not how exactly what that involvement looks like.

<sup>294</sup> Cf. LG 38, where – surprisingly – spiritual fruits is written without a capital S, in spite of a reference to Gal. 5,22.

<sup>295</sup> Cf. the subtitle of the thesis. Mullins makes this claim without arguing it. See Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 168, 172-176, 186, 379. Cf. the *Commentarius* in *AS* II/1, 229-230. For although the section’s working title focuses on sanctifying, “De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante”, the following explanation has a wider range, “The Son’s Spirit is sent to complete his (the Son’s) work, by inwardly vivifying the Church, and by directing and renewing her through various ministries and gifts, until He leads her to her final beatitude”.

When the Spirit is conceived as passively involved, the dominant conception is that of the Spirit as sent, poured out and given. The Spirit is said to be “poured out” (*effuso*) in LG 2, and LG 5 states that Christ “has poured out” (*effudit*) the Spirit. Articles LG 21 and LG 59 speak similarly. The Spirit is said to be “sent” (*missus*) in LG 4, while LG 13 states that God the Father “has sent” the Spirit and LG 24 that Christ “has sent” the Spirit. Articles LG 40 and LG 48 (2x) speak in similar terms. The Spirit is said to be given as well. According to LG 7, Christ “has given” the Spirit (*dedit de Spiritu suo*). In other articles, the Spirit is said to “be given” (*datur*, LG 12, cf. LG 42) or to be a gift (*donum*, LG 39, LG 59). Together with related verbs such as *communicare* (LG 7), *replēre* (LG 9), *ditare* (LG 11, LG 21), *conferri* (LG 21), *cumulāre* (LG 39) and *signare* (LG 48), this seems to be a first category of conceiving the Spirit’s involvement passively. Related to this category is the Spirit as promised. References to this feature in articles LG 5, LG 24, LG 25, LG 59. Taken together as one category, these words cover more than half of the passive references (twenty-six out of forty eight).

Secondly, the Spirit is conceived in an instrumental manner. In LG 4, the Father is said to vivify “through the Spirit” (*per quem Pater*) and LG 32 states that Christ “vivifies with the Holy Spirit” (*suo Spiritu*). The Spirit’s instrumental role may also be implicit, such as when LG 7 suggests that Christ constitutes the Church by means of the Spirit, whom He has “communicated”. In some cases, the Spirit has an instrumental role without it being clear who acts, such as when LG 10 states that the baptised are “consecrated *per (...) Spiritus Sancti unctionem*”. Similar cases may be found in LG 11, LG 42, LG 48 (2x).

A final category of passive references describes the Spirit, not as the object Christ or the Father send, or promise, or work through, but rather as the direct or indirect object of human activity. According to LG 12 the hierarchy should not extinguish the Holy Spirit and according to LG 66 the faithful may “offer a cult of adoration to the Incarnate Word, the Father and the Holy Spirit”. In other cases, the faithful are said to “possess” (*habentes*) the Spirit (LG 14, LG 48, LG 49) and the apostles are said to “receive” the Spirit (LG 19).<sup>296</sup>

Thus, this second category of Spirit-propositions shows that *Lumen gentium* conceives the Spirit also as given, sent, and as the instrument that the Father and the Son work through or with. To a lesser extent, the Spirit is also the object of human activity. This passive and dependent view of the Spirit complements and nuances the conception of the Spirit as actively involved in the Church, which we earlier found to be *Lumen gentium*’s dominant pneumatological conception.

Figure three shows that a third type of Spirit-propositions specifies no more than that the Spirit is ‘somehow’ involved. In two thirds of these cases, the text uses the pronoun *in*, e.g. in combinations such as the Council being gathered “in the Holy Spirit” (LG 1), or the faithful who may act “in the Holy Spirit” (LG 34). Some other pronouns are used as well, such as “ex”, “sub”, “cum”, “de”, e.g. in

---

<sup>296</sup> See also LG 8; LG 17, *in templum Spiritus*; LG 21, *ministratio Spiritus*; LG 40 *fructus Spiritus*; LG 44, *Spiritus Sancti potentiam demonstrat*; LG 45, *Spiritus impulsus dociliter sequens*; LG 59, *implorantem donum Spiritus*.

combinations such as the magisterium which exercises its teaching function “under the light of the Holy Spirit” (LG 25).<sup>297</sup> These propositions are made in a diversity of contexts and forms and it is difficult to detect preferred topics or a pattern. While LG 4, LG 28 and LG 51 talk about access to and adoration of the Father “in the Spirit”, in other cases there is a clear connection to unity (LG 4, LG 7, LG 13, LG 50) or the Son’s incarnation (LG 52, 64, 65). The reference to the Spirit may also indicate a contrast, such as when LG 9 speaks of a new people of God “not according to the flesh but in the Spirit” and “not from the flesh but from water and the Holy Spirit”.

From this overview, several general conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, *Lumen gentium*’s dominant conception of the Holy Spirit is active, with a remarkable breadth of activities. Yet secondly, this active conception is complemented with a more passive conception of the Spirit as sent and poured out, and as instrument. Thirdly, *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology is unevenly articulated. While articles LG 4, LG 7, LG 12, and LG 25 stand out for their high proportion of active propositions, articles LG 21 and LG 59 stand out for their high number of passive propositions. Finally, *Lumen gentium* counts twenty-four propositions of “somehow” propositions, and in eleven cases the grammar is open to multiple interpretations. That means that in a considerable number of cases the exact type of involvement of the Spirit remains unspecified.

### 3.3.2 Addressees

So far I have explored the content of the Spirit’s involvement in the Church, yet who benefit from it? In relation to whom is the Spirit said to undertake his actions? Or to whom is the Spirit sent? Because a detailed overview per chapter and per article offers too many and too small details, I will analyse the document as a whole.

The two major addressees are the faithful and the Church. When LG 12 states that “it is not only through the sacraments and the ministries of the Church that the Holy Spirit sanctifies and leads the people of God and enriches it with virtues, but (...) He distributes special graces among the faithful of every rank”, the Spirit’s addressee are “the faithful of every rank”. More or less synonymous words such as brothers and sisters are used as well, such as in LG 7’s statement that Christ, “by communicating his Spirit, mystically constituted his sisters and brothers (*fratres suos*), called together from all nations, as his body”. LG 10 speaks about the baptised as addressees of the Spirit: “By the regeneration and the anointing of the Holy Spirit the baptised are consecrated as a spiritual dwelling and a holy priesthood”. In forty-nine cases, *Lumen gentium* specifies the faithful as addressee of the Holy Spirit.<sup>298</sup>

<sup>297</sup> For *ex*, see LG 9; for *sub*, see LG 9, LG 25 (2x); for *cum*, see LG 39; for *de*, see LG 52, 64, 65.

<sup>298</sup> See LG 4 (*credentes; in cordibus fidelium; in eisque*, 2x); LG 5 (*discipulos*, 2x [for to designate the hierarchy, *Lumen gentium* uses the term *apostoli*, see *discipuli* in LG 10, 17, 19]); LG 7 (*hominem; fratres suos; credentes; omnes nos; inter fideles; nobis; in membris*); LG 9 (*Credentes in Christum; filiorum Dei*); LG 10 (*Baptizati*, 2x); LG 11 (*Fideles*, 3x; *novi*

In another forty-four cases, the Spirit is related to the Church. Various terms are used, notably *Ecclesia*, *corpus*, and *populus Dei*. LG 2 states that “after the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the holy Church (*Ecclesia*) was made manifest”, and LG 7 specifies that the Spirit “gives life to the whole body (*corpus*), unifies it and moves it”. The Church may also be the implied addressee, for example when LG 5 states that Christ has sent the Spirit over the disciples and continues that “from there (*unde*)” the Church has taken up its mission.<sup>299</sup>

A third important category consists of the hierarchy: the apostles and their successors, the bishops, the Pope, the magisterium. When in discussing “the twelve” and “the apostles”, LG 19 quotes from Acts, “you will receive the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and you will be my witnesses (...) to the very ends of the earth”, it implies that the Spirit is given to the apostles.<sup>300</sup> Similarly, LG 25 speaks of the Spirit’s “assistance, promised to Peter”. In total, *Lumen gentium* identifies in twenty-nine cases the hierarchy as the addressee of the Holy Spirit.<sup>301</sup>

Finally, there is a range of other addressees that are mentioned less frequently. By describing itself as “this holy *synodus*, called together gathered in the Holy Spirit”, the Council considers itself as the addressee of the Holy Spirit. LG 4 links the Spirit to “human beings (*homines*), dead in sin” and LG 7 to *charismaticos*. Other addressees are the following: Christ;<sup>302</sup> the catechumens;<sup>303</sup> non-Catholic

---

*societatis humanae cives* [who through baptism become *filios Dei*]; LG 12 (*omnis ordinis fideles*, 2x; *unicuique*, 2x); LG 13 (*singulis universisque credentibus*; *cuncti per orbem sparsi fideles*); LG 17 (*baptizantes eos*); LG 32 (*filios Dei*); LG 39 (*in fidelibus*; *a multis christianis*, 2x); LG 40 (*omnes* (that is, all the *discipuli*), 3x); LG 41 (*omnibus*, 2x); LG 42 (*in cordibus nostris*; *nobis*); LG 48 (*discipulos*, 2x; implied *nos* in *in missione Spiritus*, 2x; implied *nos* in *signati Spiritu*; *filii Dei*; *intra nos gemimus*); LG 49 (*Universi qui Christi sunt*); LG 50 (*super nos*); LG 64 (*filios*).

<sup>299</sup> See LG 2 (*Ecclesia*); LG 4 (*Ecclesiam*; *in Ecclesia*; *Ecclesiam, quam*, 4x; *Ecclesiam eamque*, 2x; *universa Ecclesia*); LG 5 (*Unde Ecclesia*); LG 6 (*Ecclesia* understood as *habitaculum Dei in Spiritu*); LG 7 (*corpus unificans*; *totum corpus*, 4x); LG 9 (*plebem*; *Ecclesia Christi*; *Ecclesia*); LG 12 (*Universitas fidelium*, 2x; *Populus Dei*, 3x; *Populum Dei*); LG 13 (*tota Ecclesia*; *catholica Ecclesia*); LG 17 (*Ecclesia a Spiritu compellitur*, 2x); LG 25 (*universus Christi grex*); LG 26 (local Churches as *populus novus*); LG 28 (*familiam Dei*); LG 39 (*Ecclesiam*, 2x); LG 44 (*in Ecclesia*); LG 48 (*Corpus suum quod est Ecclesia*; *pergit in Ecclesia*); LG 53 (*Catholica Ecclesia*, 2x); LG 59 (*humanae salutis sacramentum*); LG 64 (*Ecclesia*, 2x).

Cf. LG 50 (*totius Ecclesiae unio in Spiritu*).

<sup>300</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “Accipietis virtutem supervenientis Spiritus Sancti in vos, et eritis ...”.

<sup>301</sup> See also LG 8 (*eam vivificant*, with *eam* understood as *socialis compago Ecclesiae*); LG 12 (*Spiritus Sanctus ... per ministeria*); LG 19 (*Accipietis virtutem supervenientis Spiritus Sancti in vos, et eritis*, 3x); LG 20 (*eos*, meaning the apostles and/or their successors); LG 21 (*Apostoli*, 4x; *Episcopi*, 2x); LG 24 (*Apostolis*, 3x); LG 25 (*Episcopi ... sub lumine Spiritus*, 2x; *sub assistentia Spiritus ... beato Petro promissa*, 4x; *propter actionem = corpus Episcoporum*); LG 43 (*auctoritas Ecclesiae*, 2x); LG 45 (*ecclesiasticae Hierarchiae*, linked to *impulsus Spiritus*, 2x). In addition, the context of LG 25’s reference to the Spirit “guiding light” (*praelucente Spiritu veritatis*) suggest the intended addressee is the bishops and/or the Pope (2x). Finally, different from LG 22’s phrase on the Church’s structure, LG 27’s phrase “*Spiritu Sancto constitutam a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia regiminis formam indefectibiliter servante*” refers to the hierarchy.

<sup>302</sup> LG 4 (“The Spirit and the Bride both say to the Lord Jesus, «Come!»”); LG 52 (*incarnatus de Spiritu Sancto*); LG 65 (*de Spiritu Sancto conceptum*).

<sup>303</sup> LG 14 (*Catechumeni qui, Spiritu Sancto movente*, 2x).



Christians;<sup>304</sup> those listening to the gospel;<sup>305</sup> “the (ecclesial) organic structure and its harmony”;<sup>306</sup> lay faithful;<sup>307</sup> Mary.<sup>308</sup>

In several cases no addressee is specified. In some cases, the Spirit is described without an object, e.g. when the Spirit is called “source of life” (LG 4) or “holy” (LG 39).<sup>309</sup> A proposition may also lack an addressee because the Spirit functions as an object, e.g. when the faithful are said to “possess” the Spirit (LG 14) or when the hierarchy is said to minister the Spirit (LG 21) or to follow the Spirit’s impulses (LG 45).<sup>310</sup> In other cases, a statement allows for various interpretations, such as when LG 2 explains that the Church is manifested after the Spirit has been poured out. For does LG 2 mean that the Spirit is poured out into the Church, or into the faithful, or into the apostles?<sup>311</sup>

From this overview two conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, *Lumen gentium* conceives the Spirit primarily and dominantly in relation to the faithful and to the Church, for the total number of each of these two groups exceeds the total number of any other group. That conclusion becomes even more powerful if one were to argue that these two groups largely overlap, and that therefore their numbers should be taken together. That may indeed be argued, for it is precisely one of *Lumen gentium*’s main views of the Church to identify the Church with the faithful gathered together into the people of God. For example, LG 2 explains that “those who believe in Christ” are called together in the Church. When later in this article the Spirit is linked to the Church, this must imply that the Spirit is linked to the believers.<sup>312</sup> That makes the conclusion on the Spirit’s primary addressee even more compelling.

---

<sup>304</sup> LG 15 (*etiam in illis*, 2x; *in cunctis Christi discipulis*).

<sup>305</sup> LG 19 (*Evangelium, ab audientibus Spiritu Sancto operante acceptum*, 2x).

<sup>306</sup> LG 22 (*Spiritu Sancto organicam structuram eiusque concordiam continenter roborante*; which addressee exactly is intended is not clear).

<sup>307</sup> LG 34 (*eos*, meaning *laicos*, 2x; *laici, utpote ... Spiritu uncti*, 2x; *eorum opera ... in Spiritu*, 2x);

<sup>308</sup> LG 53 (Mary as *sacrarium Spiritus Sancti*); LG 56 (*Deiparam ... quasi a Spiritu Sancto plasmata novamque creaturam formatam*); LG 59 (*qui in Annuntione ipsam (viz. Mariam) obumbraverat*); LG 63 (*Spiritu Sancto obumbrata*); LG 65 (*Eam, quae genuit*).

<sup>309</sup> See also LG 4 (*Ipse est Spiritus vitae*); LG 7 (*Unus est Spiritus* and *qui varia sua dona dispersit*); LG 13 (*in unitate Spiritus*, in so far as it implies *qui unus est*); LG 32 (*unus ... Spiritus; operatur*); LG 48 (*qui est pignus; primitias*).

<sup>310</sup> See also LG 8 (*Spiritui Christi inservit*); LG 12 (*non Spiritum extinguere*); LG 17 (*Templum Spiritus Sancti*); LG 34 (*fructus Spiritus*); LG 40 (*fructusque Spiritus*); LG 44 (*infinitam Spiritus Sancti potentiam*); LG 48 (*primitias Spiritus habentes*); LG 49 (*Spiritum Eius habentes*); LG 59 (*implorantem donum Spiritus*). Cf. LG 51 (*latreuticum cultum, Deo Patri per Christum in Spiritu*); LG 66 (*cultu adorationis, qui Verbo incarnato aequae ac Patri et Spiritui Sancto exhibetur*).

<sup>311</sup> LG 4’s statement that “the Spirit was sent on the day of Pentecost” raises a similar question, and when LG 7 speaks of the Spirit as living “in the Head and in the members”, “the Head” may mean Christ, the Pope, the hierarchy. See also LG 10 (*sub actione Spiritus*), for in relation to whom does the Spirit act?; LG 13 (*misit, vivificantem*); LG 15 (*in Spiritu Sancto coniunctio*); LG 25 (*actionem Spiritus Sancti*); LG 59 (*promissum Spiritum effunderet*, 2x; *donum Spiritus*).

<sup>312</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “Credentes autem in Christum convocare statuit in sancta Ecclesia, quae iam ab origine mundi praefigurata, (...) effuso Spiritu est manifestata, et in fine saeculorum gloriose consummabitur”.

Secondly *Lumen gentium* is considerably more explicit on the hierarchy as an addressee of the Spirit than on the two other major groups in the Church, the lay faithful and the religious. While *Lumen gentium* mentions the hierarchy twenty-nine times in ten articles, the laity is mentioned six times, all in one article. Strictly speaking, the religious are never mentioned as addressee of the Spirit, although one could argue that LG 44's statement that the religious state "demonstrates to all people (...) the infinite power of Christ's Spirit, which is wonderfully working in the Church" implies the Spirit's work in the religious.<sup>313</sup>

### 3.3.3 Father, Son and Spirit

A third aspect of *Lumen gentium*'s conception of the Spirit is the relationship of the Spirit to the Father and the Son. Does *Lumen gentium* perceive the Holy Spirit in relation to the Father and the Son, and if so, how does it conceive the trinitarian relationship? A cursory glance suffices to confirm that, whenever *Lumen gentium* mentions the Holy Spirit, it also mentions the Father and the Son. For in all forty-five articles in which the Spirit is mentioned, there are also references to the Father and the Son, or, incidentally, to the Son only. LG 2's explanation that the Church was made manifest *effuso Spiritu* is preceded as well as followed by references to the Father and Son.<sup>314</sup> Some articles speak of *Deus* and the Son, with the context suggesting that *Deus* means the Father. In LG 13's statement that God (*Deus*) sends the "Spirit of his Son", it is clearly implied that God means the Father.<sup>315</sup> Some articles mention the Son and the Spirit without reference to the Father.<sup>316</sup>

In some of those cases, *Lumen gentium*'s statements on the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are without explicit connection. LG 1's statement that the Council is "gathered in the Spirit" has no direct relation with its phrase on Christ as the light of the peoples.<sup>317</sup> As a consequence, it is not so clear how exactly *Lumen gentium* conceives the relationship between the Father, the Son and the Spirit. In other cases, the trinitarian relationship is articulated without details or in general terms, so that again little information is given on the actual understanding of the relationship between Father, Son, and Spirit. The reflection on the Father in LG 2 does repeatedly refer to the Son and (in briefer

<sup>313</sup> Cf. full text, "(Status religiosus) supereminenter quoque magnitudinem virtutis Christi regnantis atque infinitam Spiritus Sancti potentiam, in Ecclesia mirabiliter operantem, cunctis hominibus demonstrat".

<sup>314</sup> LG 2 first discusses the Father's design of salvation and the Son's execution of that plan, and it concludes with a brief note on the eschatological gathering at (*apud*) the Father.

<sup>315</sup> See e.g. LG 52, "Benignus et sapientissimus Deus, mundi redemptionem complere volens, (...) misit Filium suum", and LG 1. In some cases, the meaning of *Deus* remains ambiguous.

<sup>316</sup> See e.g. LG 22; LG 24; LG 25; LG 27 (for *Paterfamilias* in the context of LG 27 means Christ); LG 32.

<sup>317</sup> Cf. full text, "Lumen gentium cum sit Christus, haec Sacrosancta Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto congregata, omnes homines claritate Eius, super faciem Ecclesiae resplendente, illuminare vehementer exoptat, omni creaturae Evangelium annuntiando (cf. Mc 16,15)". Another example is LG 11, where the Father is only mentioned in the concluding sentence, with no connection to the earlier statements on the Son and the Spirit.

terms) the Spirit, yet does not elaborate the respective roles of the Son and the Spirit. Similarly, LG 4's phrase on "a people made one by (or with) the unity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit" does not spell out the content of the trinitarian relationship.<sup>318</sup>

When the content of the trinitarian relationship is explicated, one may distinguish three types of relationships or typologies. Firstly, in most cases, the Spirit stands in the shadow of Christ, whose salvation-historical role is highlighted. LG 7's opening lines, which introduces the mystical body by speaking about Christ's redemption and founding of the Church with a brief reference to the Spirit, illustrates four typical features of this first typology. What is stated on the Spirit is usually considerably shorter than what is stated on Christ. For LG 7 discusses Christ's role in two sentences, and the Spirit's only in the brief phrase "Communicando enim Spiritum suum".<sup>319</sup> A second characteristic of this typology is that the Spirit is called after Christ, *suum* (LG 7), or "Christ's Spirit" (LG 8).<sup>320</sup> Further, the Spirit is often conceived in dependence on Christ, as sent or promised by Him or, in this case, "communicated" (LG 7).<sup>321</sup> A fourth and final characteristic is that the Spirit is often implied to be the instrument that Christ acts with or through, in this case by means of the *ablativus absolutus* clause *communicando* (LG 7).<sup>322</sup>

This christocentric conception of the Spirit is particularly apparent in the one-direction dependency of the Spirit on Christ. As LG 4's introduction sentence clarifies, the Spirit is introduced into salvation history after Christ has fulfilled his mission, so that it is only logical that the Christ-centered article LG 3 does not describe Christ as dependent on the Spirit. References to the Spirit's role in relation to Christ's incarnation feature only in the chapter on Mary. One wonders if this chapter

---

<sup>318</sup> For another example, see LG 17's concluding formula "people of God, body of Christ, and temple of the Holy Spirit" or LG 53's reference to Mary as "genitrix Dei Filii, praedilecta filia Patris, sacrarium Spiritus Sancti".

<sup>319</sup> Cf. full text, "Dei Filius, in natura humana Sibi unita, morte et resurrectione sua mortem superando, hominem redemit et in novam creaturam transformavit (cf. Gal 6,15; 2Cor 5,17). Communicando enim Spiritum suum, fratres suos, ex omnibus gentibus convocatos, tamquam corpus suum mystice constituit". For another example, see the opening paragraph of the introductory article to the chapter on the people of God, LG 9. After the Father (*Deus*) is credited with the *propositum* of salvation, the Son dominates the remainder of the paragraph, with the Spirit figuring in two short "in the Spirit" and "from the Spirit" phrases.

<sup>320</sup> See also LG 9 (*Spiritu suo*); LG 13 (*Spiritum Filii sui*; *Spiritus eius*); LG 14 (*Spiritum Christi*); LG 34 (*suo Spiritu*); LG 48 (*Spiritum suum*); LG 49 (*Spiritum eius*).

<sup>321</sup> This is true for most propositions specifying a "passive involvement"; see e.g. LG 5 (*Spiritum effudit*), LG 7 (*Communicando*; *dedit*) and LG 9 (*replevit*). Note that according to LG 5, Christ pours out the Spirit, who however has been promised by the Father, and that according to LG 13, the Father sends the Spirit, who however is called after the Son and the Father "the Spirit of his Son".

<sup>322</sup> For other examples, see e.g. LG 34 (*eos suo Spiritu vivificat indesinenterque impellit*) or LG 48 (*per eum constituit*). Cf. however LG 4, where the Spirit is the Father's instrument (*per quem Pater*).

intends to introduce a Spirit-related Christology, or rather to indicate Mary's special role.<sup>323</sup> This typology is widely spread in the document.<sup>324</sup>

Secondly, the Spirit is conceived as complementary to the Father and the Son. According to this typology, while the plan of salvation belongs to the Father, the Son carries out this plan by bringing redemption and founding the Church, after which the Spirit works in the Church and in the faithful. The trinitarian introduction in LG 2-4 represents this trinitarian typology, as does LG 13. The latter starts with the Father's "design of God's will". It continues with Christ, sent by the Father to be the head of the universal people of God. And it concludes with the Spirit, sent by the Father to be the principle of unity of the Church. Thus the three divine persons are related in such a way that their roles in the Church are complementary. This second typology features occasionally.<sup>325</sup>

According to a third understanding, the Spirit overlaps with Christ. In these cases, what the Spirit has been said to do is also linked to Christ, or vice versa. After LG 7 has said that the Spirit distributes gifts, amongst which the "grace of the apostles", Christ too is credited with distributing "the gifts of ministry".<sup>326</sup> And while LG 9 calls Christ "the principle of unity and peace (*unitatis pacisque principium*)", LG 13 describes the Spirit in rather similar terms as "the principle of communion and unity (*principium congregationis et unitatis*) for the Church and for each and every believer". This third typology features incidentally.<sup>327</sup>

These three pneumatological typologies are not necessarily mutually exclusive. LG 14 first focuses on Christ, calling him "the one Mediator and the unique way of salvation". Yet in describing

---

<sup>323</sup> Cf. however the Decree on the mission activity of the Church *Ad gentes*, no. 4, "Procul dubio Spiritus Sanctus iam in mundo operabatur antequam Christus glorificaretur". A comparison with *Lumen gentium* shows that *procul dubio* is an overstatement.

<sup>324</sup> See LG 5, LG 7, LG 8, LG 14, LG 19, LG 21, LG 24, LG 34, LG 39, LG 42, LG 48, LG 49, LG 59.

<sup>325</sup> See LG 2-4 (taken together); LG 10-12 (taken together); LG 15, where the Father is called "Almighty", the Son "Christ the Saviour", and the Spirit is specified to work with gifts in all Christians; LG 41, where the Spirit leads, the Father speaks, and Christ is the example. Cf. the succinct indications in LG 11 (faith is received *a Deo*, and the strength of the Spirit helps to witness to Christ). For much briefer example, see LG 13 (Christ is the head, the Spirit gives unity: *sub Capite Christo, in unitate Spiritus Eius*); LG 43 (the evangelical counsels have been given by Christ, with the Spirit helping to interpret it in modern circumstances); LG 44, which mentions the "reigning" Son and the Spirit who is "working in the Church" (*magnitudinem virtutis Christi regnantis atque infinitam Spiritus Sancti potentiam, in Ecclesia mirabiliter operantem*).

<sup>326</sup> Cf. LG 7. It first states: "unus est Spiritus, qui varia sua dona, secundum divitias suas atque ministeriorum necessitates, ad Ecclesiae utilitatem dispertit (cf. 1Cor 12,1-11). Inter quae dona praestat gratia Apostolorum, quorum auctoritati ipse Spiritus etiam charismaticos subdit (cf. 1Cor 14)". Then, another paragraph states: "Ipse (viz. Christus) in corpore suo, scilicet Ecclesia, dona ministrationum iugiter disponit".

<sup>327</sup> Holiness is another example, for on the one hand the shared calling to holiness is linked to Christ who "loved the Church as his bride, delivering Himself up for her, so that He might sanctify her", but on the other hand holiness is said to show itself in the fruits "that the Spirit produces in the faithful", which suggests that the Spirit sanctifies (LG 39). Again, while LG 40 calls Jesus "the teacher and model of holiness" and "the one who initiates and perfects it (*auctor et consummator*)", LG 40 also states that the Spirit "moves from within" to love of God and neighbour. Cf. LG 41's opening statement that "one holiness is cultivated by all who are led by the Spirit of God".

the Church as founded “by God through Jesus Christ (*a Deo per Iesum Christum*)” and the Spirit as moving people to join, it possibly alludes to a complementary view. Finally, when LG 14 first describes Church membership as presupposing the possession of the Spirit (*Spiritus habentes*) and then stresses that “Christ’s special grace” is the origin of the special dignity of the faithful, it seems to have adopted an overlapping view of the Spirit, as *Spiritus habentes* seems more or less synonymous to *gratiam Christi habentes*.

Still, the first typology is used much more frequently than the other two. In the light of the text’s overall christocentric tendency, that is unsurprising. The christocentric article LG 1, in which Christ is presented as the light of the peoples, that the Church is called to mirror, prepares in nothing for the trinitarian view of LG 2-4. The concluding formula of the chapter on the religious provides another powerful example of a christocentric framework, for it specifies the Trinity as “in Christ and through Christ the source and origin of all holiness” (LG 47).<sup>328</sup> Moreover, as we have seen in chapter 2.1, in addition to being visible in the text, the focus on Christ was explicitly and happily acknowledged by Philips. Spirit-centered articles such as LG 4 and LG 12 are the proverbial exceptions that prove the rule.

In conclusion, *Lumen gentium* features three very different typologies of the Spirit in relation to the Father and the Son. The Spirit may be conceived in a christocentric context, or as complementary to the Father and the Son, or as overlapping with Christ. The tensions between these three typologies are apparent. While the former focuses on Christ, whose role overshadows the Spirit’s, the complementary typology suggests the Spirit has his own role and works together with the Father and the Son. Finally, the third, overlapping typology excludes both the first view, according to which the Spirit functions under Christ, and the second view, according to which the Spirit has his own role.

### **Intermediary Conclusion**

The explorations of the Spirit’s activities, addressees and the trinitarian-theological framework allows for three conclusions. Firstly, if one takes *Lumen gentium* as a whole, its dominant view of the Spirit is that He is actively involved in the Church through a diversity of activities, related to the faithful and the Church, and imagined in christocentric trinitarian-theological context. For a majority of *Lumen gentium*’s Spirit-propositions specify an active involvement, with the faithful and the Church as the main addressees. Moreover, the dominant view of the relationship between the Spirit and the Father and the Son is a christocentric one.

---

<sup>328</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “ad maiorem gloriam unius et indivisae Trinitatis, quae in Christo et per Christum est omnis sanctitatis fons et origo”.

Secondly however, constructing an overall pneumatology does not do justice to another aspect of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology, namely that it is uneven. We have observed the remarkable difference between articles with a high percentage of active propositions, such as LG 4 and LG 12, and articles with a high percentage of passive propositions, such as LG 21 and LG 59. We have also seen that some groups in the Church are conceived considerably more in relation to the Holy Spirit than others. While the Holy Spirit is related more than twenty times with the hierarchy, the laity and the religious are mentioned rarely or not at all as addressees of the Spirit.

Further, we have noted that, while the christocentric trinitarian-theological imagination is dominant, some articles have other imaginations.

Finally, the uneven nature of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology not only confirms what we found in chapter 3.1 but also suggests that at least in some cases, the Holy Spirit is forgotten. For it would be unconvincing to claim that the hierarchy receives the Holy Spirit more and more often than the laity, and arguing that the Holy Spirit is not mentioned in relation to the religious as they have not received the Holy Spirit is simply absurd. The tension within LG 47's concluding formula and the tension between the Christ-centered typology in LG 1 and the complementary, trinitarian one in LG 2-4 suggest that christocentrism may explain that forgetfulness.

### 3.4 Argumentative Analysis

So far we have focused on the surface of the text and on its theological content. As the Spirit-propositions in *Lumen gentium* figure in the context of an ecclesiological argument, it is also relevant to explore their argumentative role. Therefore, while the previous sections focused on the text's structure and its theological content, this section focuses on the argumentative significance for the ecclesiological reflection, the structure of which was outlined in chapter 2.1 as "The Church in Eight Parts". Therefore, my interest does not lie in the pneumatological content of a given Spirit-proposition, no matter how fundamental it is; my interest is argumentative significance. Does a given Spirit-proposition belong to the core or essence of the ecclesiological argument and is it therefore foundational, or does it not, and is it therefore clarifying?

For example, LG 1 describes the Council as "called together in the Holy Spirit". As LG 1 is principally an argument on Christ the light of the peoples and the Church's calling to mirror that light, the argumentative significance of that phrase is clarifying. Without it the article would lose some of its depth, but not its essence. Therefore, the Spirit-reference has a clarifying argumentative significance. Similarly, LG 2 briefly refers to the Spirit, as part of a further development of the argument on the Father's plan of salvation, Christ and the Church. The Spirit-proposition is part of a series of propositions that give various details on the Church: it was prefigured, prepared, constituted and manifested. It is not a coincidence that these propositions are made in an adjective subclause in which

they function as a time-indicators,<sup>329</sup> for without them the argument would lose some important details, but not its essence.

By contrast, Spirit-propositions may be made as part of the argumentative foundation for a given ecclesiological reality, such as in the case of the topics of *sensus fidei* and *charismata* in LG 12. Without its Spirit-propositions, this article would lose its essence. These propositions are therefore part of a foundational reflection. Implicit Spirit-propositions too may be part of a foundational argument, for example the Spirit-proposition implied in the word *unde* in LG 5. Article LG 5 states that after the cross, the resurrection, and the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, it has become the Church's task to announce and build the Kingdom. As the objective of this article is to relate the Kingdom of God to the Church, and as the *unde*-phrase implies that the Spirit is the foundation of both the reality of the Church and its Kingdom-related mission, it is part of the core of the argument.<sup>330</sup> The case of LG 5 also shows that Spirit-propositions may be made in Christ-centered sentences and still be part of a foundational argument.

Further, one and the same article may contain both foundational and non-foundational propositions. In LG 5, the implicit Spirit-proposition *unde* is preceded by the propositions that the Spirit is promised by the Father and poured forth by Christ. Pneumatologically speaking, the latter two propositions may be very important, yet from the point of view of the ecclesiological argument, they have a clarifying argumentative significance. They do not belong to its core.

Finally, some texts contain more than one argumentative core, often as consequence of the text's redaction history. LG 7's two core propositions that Christ constitutes the faithful into one body and that He is the head of that body are both developed further, the former by referring to the sacraments and to the Holy Spirit as establishing and fostering unity, the latter by specifying what the Head brings to the body.<sup>331</sup> In those further developments, the Holy Spirit is repeatedly mentioned, yet

---

<sup>329</sup> Cf. full text of this : "Aeternus Pater, liberrimo et arcano sapientiae ac bonitatis suae consilio, mundum universum creavit, homines ad participandam vitam divinam elevare decrevit, eosque lapsos in Adamo non dereliquit, semper eis Auxilia ad salutem praebens, intuitu Christi, Redemptoris, «qui est imago Dei invisibilis, primogenitus omnis creaturae» (Col 1,15). Omnes autem electos Pater ante saecula «praescivit et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus» (Rom 8,29). Credentes autem in Christum convocare statuit in sancta Ecclesia, quae iam ab origine mundi praefigurata, in historia populi Israel ac foedere antiquo mirabiliter praeparata, in novissimis temporibus constituta, **effuso Spiritu est manifestata**, et in fine saeculorum gloriose consummabitur. Tunc autem, sicut apud sanctos Patres legitur, omnes iusti inde ab Adam, «ab Abel iusto usque ad ultimum electum» in Ecclesia universali apud Patrem congregabuntur". (Bold added.)

<sup>330</sup> Cf. the Latin text, "Cum autem Iesus, mortem crucis pro hominibus passus, surrexerit, tamquam Dominus et Christus Sacerdosque in aeternum constitutus apparuit, atque Spiritum a Patre promissum in discipulos suos effudit. Unde Ecclesia, donis sui Fundatoris instructa fideliterque eiusdem praecepta caritatis, humilitatis et abnegationis servans, missionem accipit Regnum Christi et Dei annuntiandi et in omnibus gentibus instaurandi ...".

<sup>331</sup> For the distinction between these two claims, see Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 105-113.

precisely as further developments, these references to the Spirit have, from an argumentative point of view, a clarifying significance.<sup>332</sup>

Figure four on the next page shows where *Lumen gentium* makes Spirit-propositions with a foundational weight (F) and a clarifying weight (CL). The dark grey bar indicates the document's total number of Spirit-propositions followed by the division over foundational and clarifying propositions. The lighter grey bars do the same per chapter and the white bars per section.

Some preliminary explanation may provide helpful. In the case of the Spirit-centered article LG 4, I consider all Spirit-propositions foundational, as the point of the article is precisely to introduce the Holy Spirit. In article LG 7, on the Church as mystical body, only the first two Spirit-propositions are directly related to the ecclesiological core of the argument, which is that Christ constitutes the mystical body and that He is its head. From an argumentative point of view, propositions on the Spirit's gifts and on his unifying role, though pneumatologically fundamental, have a clarifying role.<sup>333</sup>

The ecclesiological core of LG 10, on the common priesthood, is that Christ "has made the new people «a kingdom, priests to his God and Father»". That sentence is immediately followed by a more pneumatological one: "by the regeneration and anointing (*per unctionem*) of the Holy Spirit the baptized are consecrated as a spiritual dwelling and a holy priesthood". Both the argument's overall christocentric tendency and the word *enim* suggest that this is a clarifying, not a foundational proposition. In article LG 12, on *sensus fidei* and charisms, the important sentence on the Spirit who "arouses and sustains" the sense of the faith fulfils, argumentatively speaking, a clarifying function. As the introductory word *enim* illustrates, it follows as a further explanation to the foundational proposition on the universality of the people of God and its infallibility in believing. That is also the case for the phrase on the *manifestatio Spiritus* and on *non Spiritum extinguere*.

Section LG 25, on the magisterium's teaching office, features a high number of Spirit-propositions. As they are indirectly related to the section's main points, namely the episcopal teaching office and its infallibility, none of these has a foundational significance; rather, they have a clarifying role. The foundational opening proposition that "among the principal duties of bishops, the preaching of the Gospel occupies an eminent place" does not contain a reference to the Spirit; that is only the case in the further explanation in the immediately following sentence.<sup>334</sup> The case of the introductory

---

<sup>332</sup> See also a.o. LG 9, LG 12, LG 25. Article LG 9's core ecclesiological convictions are that Christ has made a new people of God *in Spiritu*, and that this people of God is on a pilgrimage of renewal *sub actione Spiritus*. LG 12 is about *sensus fidei* and *charismata*, with a brief introductory sentence on the prophetic office of the people of God; both topics have a pneumatological foundation. LG 25 is about the bishop's teaching office and infallibility; in relation to both topics, the Spirit is mentioned.

<sup>333</sup> For a very similar case, see LG 9; only the first and last Spirit-propositions are directly related to the ecclesiological core – people of God on pilgrimage – and therefore foundational.

<sup>334</sup> That sentence starts, not coincidentally, with the word *enim*, cf.: "Episcopi enim sunt fidei praecones, qui novos discipulos ad Christum adducunt, et doctores authentici seu auctoritate Christi praediti, qui populo sibi commisso fidem credendam et moribus applicandam praedicant, et sub lumine Sancti Spiritus illustant".



article of the chapter on eschatology and the saints, LG 48, is rather similar to LG 25. Its ecclesiological core conviction is found in the third paragraph: the eschatological fulfilment has already arrived and is still to come; therefore, the Church is a pilgrim on earth. The other, pneumatologically rich paragraphs have therefore a clarifying function.

The first two Spirit-propositions in LG 34 have a foundational significance; they are part of the ecclesiological claim that Christ wishes “to continue his witness and service also through the laity”. The later propositions are part of the development of that claim. Finally, the case of the opening article of the chapter on holiness, LG 39, is somewhat complicated. Its key conviction that all are called to holiness is preceded by two sentences, one on the Church’s “indefectible” holiness and another on Christ’s sanctifying work and the gift of the Holy Spirit. In my view, the foundation of the universal call to holiness should be understood in relation to the latter sentence.<sup>335</sup> Therefore, the proposition on that gift of the Spirit has a foundational significance.<sup>336</sup>

<i>Lumen gentium</i>									184	(39 / 145)	
Chapter 1. The Mystery of the Church									42	22 / 20	
LG 1	LG 2	LG 3	LG 4	LG 5	LG 6	LG 7	LG 8				
-	-	-	18 F	1 F	1 F	2 F	-				
1 CL	2 CL	-	-	2 CL	-	13 CL	2 CL				
Chapter 2. The People of God									43	10 / 34	
LG 9	LG 10	LG 11	LG 12	LG 13	LG 14	LG 15	LG 16	LG 17			
2 F	-	-	8 F	-	-	-	-	-			
4 CL	2 CL	4 CL	6 CL	7 CL	3 CL	5 CL	-	4 CL			
Chapter 3. The Hierarchy									31	0 / 31	
LG 18	LG 19	LG 20	LG 21	LG 22	LG 23	LG 24	LG 25	LG 26	LG 27	LG 28	LG 29
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	5 CL	1 CL	7 CL	1 CL	-	3 CL	11 CL	1 CL	1 CL	1 CL	-
Chapter 4. The Laity									10	2 / 8	
LG 30	LG 31	LG 32	LG 33	LG 34	LG 35	LG 36	LG 37	LG 38			
-	-	-	-	2 F	-	-	-	-			
-	-	3 CL	-	5 CL	-	-	-	-			
Chapter 5. Holiness									14	4 / 10	
LG 39	LG 40	LG 41	LG 42								
2 F	-	1 F	1 F								
4 CL	4 CL	1 CL	1 CL								

<sup>335</sup> The main reason for this is that it is difficult to establish a logical connection between the statement on the Church’s holiness and the calling to holiness, as the latter implies that holiness should be pursued, while the former states that it is already there. The *Relatio de singulis numeris* explains that both sentences (together called *prima phrasis*) have been added to provide the statement on the calling to holiness with a foundation, *AS* III/1, 301; it is difficult to see how this holds true for the first of these sentences.

<sup>336</sup> The phrase on the gift of the Spirit is part of a sentence that also contains a brief adjective clause on the Holy Spirit: “Christus enim, Dei Filius, qui cum Patre et Spiritu «solus Sanctus» celebratur”. Obviously, this phrase has clarifying, not foundational argumentative significance.

Chapter 6. The Religious					7		0 / 7				
LG 43	LG 44	LG 45	LG 46	LG 47							
-	-	-	-	-							
2 CL	2 CL	3 CL	-	-							
Chapter 7. Eschatology and the Saints					17		0 / 17				
LG 48	LG 49	LG 50	LG 51								
-	-	-	-								
12 CL	2 CL	2 CL	1 CL								
Chapter 8. Mary					19		1 / 18				
LG 52	LG 53	LG 54	LG 55	LG 56	LG 57	LG 58	LG 59	LG 60	LG 61	LG 62	LG 63
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 F	-	-	-	-
1 CL	3 CL	-	-	1 CL	-	-	5 CL	-	-	-	2 CL
LG 64	LG 65	LG 66	LG 67	LG 68	LG 69						
-	-	-	-	-	-						
3 CL	2 CL	1 CL	-	-	-						

**Figure 4.** The argumentative weight of the Spirit-propositions in *Lumen gentium*: F (foundational) or CL (clarifying).

With these clarifications in mind, what does figure four reveal about *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology? In the first place, generally speaking, pneumatology fulfils in *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiological argument a clarifying rather than a foundational function. A vast majority of the total number of Spirit-propositions fulfil a clarifying argumentative function. In addition, no less than forty-five of the fifty-five articles in which the Spirit is mentioned have only clarifying propositions.

In the second place, at the level of chapters and articles the figures are remarkably diverse. While in the case of topics such as the mystery of the Church (chapter one) and holiness (chapter five), pneumatology is part of the foundational considerations in at least half of the chapter's articles, the topics of the hierarchy, the religious, and eschatology and the saints have no foundational Spirit-propositions. In concrete ecclesiological terms, that means that the latter topics are never conceived in such a way that the Holy Spirit is foundationally involved. This diversity exists also on the level of topics, occasionally even at the level of the same topic. For example, the topics of *sensus fidei* and charisms are conceived from the Holy Spirit in a foundational manner (LG 12), although pneumatology plays no role in the later consideration of *sensus fidei* in the context of the prophetic dignity of the laity (LG 35).

Thirdly, it is not easy to find a convincing explanation for this diversity. It is not plausible to claim that the chapter on the mystery of the Church needs foundational Spirit-propositions and the chapter on the eschatology of the Church and the saints does not. Especially the fact that the opening article of the latter chapter, LG 48, has no foundational Spirit-propositions is problematic. For we have seen that LG 48 is a crucial text both because its salvation-historical considerations are fundamental for the topic of eschatology and because it serves as linking pin between the ecclesiology in the previous chapters and the topic of the saints. The only plausible explanation is that the document lacks

consistency: in one case, fundamental ecclesiological considerations do include pneumatology, in another case, similarly fundamental ecclesiological considerations do not include pneumatology.

## Conclusion

How does *Lumen gentium* conceive the Holy Spirit? In order to answer that question, I have explored *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology from a structural, theological and argumentative perspective, by means of *close reading*. What have we found?

*Lumen gentium* sends mixed signals. On the one hand, the Holy Spirit is mentioned in a vast majority of articles in which He is presented as actively involved in the faithful and the Church through a wide variety of concrete activities (3.2.1 and 3.2.2). Arguably therefore, the Spirit plays an important role in the Church. On the other hand however, pneumatology is rarely situated at the core of the reflection. Not only is his role articulated especially in subclauses (3.1.2), the trinitarian analysis revealed that the Spirit is conceived predominantly in a christocentric context (3.2.3). The argumentative analysis added further evidence by showing that the Spirit's argumentative role is clarifying rather than foundational (3.3). These traits of *Lumen gentium*'s conception of the Holy Spirit could be summed up in a simplified yet powerful image of the Holy Spirit as a Very Important Person who is seated on the second row.

LG 4 is the proverbial exception that proves the rule, for in this case the Spirit is consistently conceived as significant; the Spirit is a VIP on the first row. The section's pneumatology may be qualified as bold, for not only does LG 4 feature a uniquely high number of Spirit-propositions that are often part of a main clause, the Spirit's involvement is articulated mostly in the active form. In addition, the Spirit is conceived in complementarity with the Father and the Son, and the Spirit-propositions have a foundational significance for *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology.

With their impressive number of Spirit-propositions, articles LG 25 and LG 48 only seemingly follow suit. For now the Spirit's argumentative significance is clarifying rather than foundation. Indeed, it is not coincidental that the Spirit is more often mentioned in subclauses (LG 25) and in an instrumental trinitarian-theological role (LG 48). Similarly the complementarity between the Spirit and the Father and the Son in article LG 13 is deceptive, for its Spirit-propositions too fulfil a clarifying, not a foundational argumentative role.

At the same time, close reading casts doubt precisely on the possibility of drawing this type of general conclusions. As in some chapters and articles or in relation to other topics, the Holy Spirit is mentioned rarely or inconsistently, the repeated conclusion that *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology is uneven holds true here as well. The chapters on the laity and the religious – and to a lesser extent also the chapter on the hierarchy – have a much lower average number of Spirit-propositions than the more abstract and general chapters on the mystery of the Church, the people of God, holiness and eschatology and the saints. Furthermore, the chapter on the laity has a uniquely low number of two out

of nine articles with Spirit-references, and the religious are not or almost not mentioned as addressees of the Holy Spirit. When Philips claims that on all pages of *Lumen gentium* the Holy Spirit is present at least in filigree he overstates his cases.<sup>337</sup>

The uneven nature of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology raises the question how *Lumen gentium*'s view of the Spirit has developed. As commentators speak about a pneumatological rediscovery, one wonders if *Lumen gentium*'s uneven pneumatology points to a rediscovery in stops and starts, so that it has impacted articles and topics in varying ways. That question brings me to the second part of this thesis: a redaction-historical perspective on the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium*.

---

<sup>337</sup> Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 330, "Quant à l'aspect pneumatologique, on pourrait évidemment le développer de façon plus ample; mais il est certain qu'on ne trouve pas une seule page dans la Constitution où son Nom n'apparaisse en filigrane", with a footnote reference to Congar.



PART II

PNEUMATOLOGICAL RENEWAL

FROM A REDACTION-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE



## Chapter 4

### Methodological and Redaction-Historical Introduction

The second part of this thesis is consecrated to pneumatological renewal in redaction-historical perspective. What deliberate change for the better (O'Malley) did the text undergo in its redaction history? In the light of Rush's methodological considerations, notably the distinction between letter and spirit, I will focus on three questions. What changed? Who were involved? And what motives were at work? The first type of exploration, focused on the redaction-historical development of the text, echoes the preference for the letter of the text. The other two focus on the background or spirit of the text. The attention to people reflects the conviction that the concrete actions of concrete people determined the course of the Council and the development of the conciliar texts. Finally, the attention for motives corresponds to what Rush called the authorial intention.<sup>338</sup>

As I explained in the General Introduction, the complexity of the redaction process and the abundant material makes it unavoidable to choose between a necessarily more superficial exploration of all articles and a detailed, in-depth investigation of a few texts. As I prefer depth, I will work with two case-studies, LG 4 and LG 48. These articles qualify as case studies for various reasons. Both articles are important from an ecclesiological as well as pneumatological perspective (see chapter 2 and 3). LG 4 is part of the foundational reflection on the Trinity in LG 2-4, which itself is part of the foundational first chapter on the mystery of the Church. LG 48's importance is obvious from the fact that it provides the reflection on eschatology in chapter seven with a salvation-historical framework. We have also seen that both articles feature a substantial number of Spirit-references, yet with significant differences. While LG 4 speaks about the Spirit predominantly in main clauses with a specified activity, stating e.g. that the Holy Spirit "leads into all truth" and "unifies", LG 48 typically speaks about the Holy Spirit in subordinate or adverbial clauses without articulating an activity, such as in the statement that "the promised restoration ... has already begun in Christ, is advanced in the mission of the Holy Spirit (*pergit in missione Spiritus Sancti*)". Finally, both articles are fit for exploring pneumatological renewal as both articles were the fruit of renewal.

In the following chapters I will delve into the details of the redaction history of these articles. Crucial tools for this type of hermeneutics are the official minutes of the Council, the *Acta synodalia*, and the archive of the Center for the Study of Vatican II at the KU Leuven (CSVII). Some relevant Council diaries will provide useful information too, especially those by Gerard Philips and by Sebastiaan Tromp. I will consult also the *Synopsis historica* of the development of *Lumen gentium*

---

<sup>338</sup> Rush, *Vatican II*, 1, see the quote in the General Introduction.



edited by Alberigo and religious sister Franca Magistretti (sister Agnese),<sup>339</sup> and the *synopsis* edited by Francesco Gil Hellín. The number of sources could have been multiplied, especially by consulting more diaries and more archives. The wealth of material that was already used, and that resulted in two very long chapters, justifies the choice to limit myself in this respect.

Yet before starting this undertaking, I would like to prepare for it by making some more general comments on the pneumatological development in *Lumen gentium*. Firstly, a short overview of the place of pneumatology in *Lumen gentium*'s redaction-history helps to situate the developments in relation to LG 4 and LG 48 (chapter 4.1). Secondly I introduce the major players involved (chapter 4.2), and thirdly, the major motives determining *Lumen gentium*'s redaction-history (chapter 4.3).

## 4.1 The Holy Spirit in the Redaction History of *Lumen Gentium*. An Overview

Firstly, what was, generally speaking, the place of the Holy Spirit during the redaction process of *Lumen gentium*? And generally speaking, what pneumatological changes occurred? During the Ante-preparatory and Preparatory Periods, pneumatology was a marginal concern. For example, the *vota* only occasionally referred to the Spirit. In his thesis on *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology, Mullins summarized with tangible disappointment: "The various replies, taken together, show a certain awareness of the lifegiving, unifying and renewing activity of the Holy Spirit in the Church conceived as the Body of Christ, particularly in relation to the hierarchy. Despite the emphasis which Pope John XXIII placed on Pentecost, however, the replies received show little appreciation of the importance for the Church of the sending of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost".<sup>340</sup>

Schema 1 followed suit. The opening article, entitled *Prologus: Dei Patris consilium (De Ecclesia*, article 1; abbreviated henceforth as DE 1), was followed by a second article on the *Consilii Patris per Filium exsecutio* (DE 2), after which the text continued with the people of Israel and various images of the Church (DE 3), and the mystical body (DE 4-7). Thus the opening sections consecrated a full article to the Father and to the Son, not to the Spirit. The absence of an article on the Spirit is merely softened by the brief remark that Christ offered himself to the Father *per Spiritum* (DE 1) and the reference to the baptismal command (DE 2).<sup>341</sup> In this thesis I will call this a binitarian approach. The term binitarian denotes a pattern of thought in which the references to the Spirit are not equally substantial as the references to the Father and the Son. It does not refer to the conviction that the

---

<sup>339</sup> G. Alberigo, F. Magistretti (eds.), *Constitutionis dogmaticae Lumen gentium synopsis historica* (Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1975).

<sup>340</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 29, cf. the overview of replies at 21-28.

<sup>341</sup> *AS* I/4, 12-15.

Father and the Son have a divine nature, and not the Spirit, a heresy that was condemned at the First Council of Constantinople.<sup>342</sup>

The thirty-two references to the Spirit in the document indicate that, nonetheless, the Schema had not forgotten the Spirit. The Spirit was described within a christocentric theological framework and understood on the one hand in relation to the hierarchy, especially in relation to truth, and on the other hand in relation to indwelling and sanctification. For example, the reflection on the mystical body in DE 5 spoke of the Spirit dwelling “in the head (viz. Christ, JM) and the members” and as the soul of the Church, preserving the Church’s unity. Quoting Acts 20,28, the reflection on the bishop in DE 13 stated that “the Spirit has placed bishops to rule the Church of God”. Finally, the reflection on the evangelical counsels spoke about the Spirit’s “urging” and “impelling” (DE 18).

Three propositions suggested pneumatological renewal. The first of these was the proposition on “some bond (*coniunctio*) in the Holy Spirit” with non-Catholic Christians, a proposition that was however followed by a phrase which specified that the Spirit’s work “outside of the body” was aimed at their return into the (Roman Catholic) Church (DE 10).<sup>343</sup> Further, the chapter on the laity spoke about the “universal priesthood” of the faithful that it connected to the *Spiritus Sancti unctionem* (DE 21).<sup>344</sup> Finally, the chapter on authority and obedience stated that the whole Christian people had a supernatural *sensus fidei* that was “ultimately aroused by the Holy Spirit”. Yet that novel teaching was followed by a phrase which specified that the Spirit’s working in the laity was meant to work in them obedience to the hierarchy as the aim (DE 39).<sup>345</sup>

In their response to Schema 1, some Council fathers commented on its pneumatology. Referencing to the old credal formula “I believe in the Holy Spirit, who is in the Church”, Bishop Alba Palacios of Dhuantepec (Mexico) blamed the schema’s lack of life and unity on its poor pneumatology.<sup>346</sup> Louis-Séverin Haller, abbot of the Augustinian Congregation of Saint-Maurice (Switzerland), requested that the binitarian theological introduction be extended with an article on the

---

<sup>342</sup> This was one of the main issues that made Basil of Caesarea write his treatise on the Holy Spirit, cf. Hermann Josef Sieben’s introduction in Basilius von Cäsarea, *De Spiritu Sancto. Über den heiligen Geist* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), esp. 15-29.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. full text, “*aliqua in Spiritu Sancto coniunctio, quippe qui non solum donis et gratiis in ipso mystico Corpore operatur, sed sua virtute, non exclusa gratia sanctificante, etiam extra venerandum illud Corpus agit, ut fratres separati, modo a Christo statuto, eidem incorporentur*”, *AS I/4*, 19.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. full text, “*In Christo autem novus populus in templum spirituale et sacerdotium sanctum per regenerationem baptismalem et Spiritus Sancti unctionem evehitur, ut spirituales offerat hostias, et tamquam genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis, virtutes annuntiet Eius qui de tenebris eum vocavit in admirabile lumen suum* (cf. 1 Pt. 2,4-10), *AS I/4*, 38.

<sup>345</sup> Cf. full text, “*Est quidem in Ecclesia Christi (...) quidam supernaturalis sensus fidei populi universi christiani (...). Ultimatim exsuscitatur a Spiritu Sancto, qui, dum eidem magisterio adest in catholica doctrina proponenda, idem in fidelibus operatur ut doctrinam propositam oboedienti animo accipiant, recte intelligant, et profundius scrutentur*”, *AS I/4*, 63.

<sup>346</sup> *AS I/4*, 413-415.

Holy Spirit.<sup>347</sup> Further Jesuit Bishop Henri Véniat of Fort-Archambault (Chad) complained that both Christ and the Holy Spirit were not sufficiently part of the reflection. He deplored that the text addressed neither the pneumatological aspect of Christ's resurrection and ascension, nor Pentecost, and that the relationship between the Spirit and Christ was not developed.<sup>348</sup> However, the majority of Council fathers commented rather on ecclesiological matters, such as the institutional approach to the Church, which was both welcomed and criticized.

In the improved Schema 2, the number of Spirit-references had increased notably. For whilst Schema 1 featured thirty-two references to the Spirit in fifty-five articles (or 0.6 times per section), Schema 2 did so forty-one times in thirty-six articles (1.1 times per section). A comparison per page yields an only slightly smaller difference of 0.8 and 1.3 times per page.<sup>349</sup>

The content of the Spirit-references changed as well. With the introduction of an article on the Spirit, the document's opening articles became trinitarian instead of binitarian. The *Commentarius* explained that "it is shown that the doctrine on the Church is based on the primordial dogma of christianity".<sup>350</sup> In addition, the number of hierarchy-related Spirit-propositions was reduced, and the Spirit was now said to give charisms to all the faithful (DE 24).<sup>351</sup>

The Second Period started with a month-long discussion on the new draft on the Church. During this time, some Council fathers spoke about the Holy Spirit, amongst others to welcome the new Spirit-centered article DE 4. Further, various, at times opposing amendments were suggested. Ignace Ziadé, Maronite archbishop of Beirut (Syria), critically observed that the Holy Spirit was virtually absent in chapter three (which at that time discussed the people of God and the laity), and deplored that thus the promising beginning of DE 4 was not continued.<sup>352</sup> The Spirit-related topic of

---

<sup>347</sup> AS I/4, 509.

<sup>348</sup> AS I/4, 594-595, cf. 594: "nunquam enuntiatur habitudo Spiritus Sancti ad resurrectionem Christi, neque ad Ascensionem, neque ad Pentecosten de qua nulla fit mentio in schemate. Ideoque quando nostrum schema bis aut ter nominat Spiritum Sanctum, spiritum Christi (Spiritum?, JM), nulla apparet relatio explicita inter Christum et personam Trinitatis in qua dicimus «Abba, Pater»".

<sup>349</sup> Schema 1 covers forty-one pages over against thirty-one for Schema 2, footnotes and commentary excluded. See AS I/4, 12-91 and AS II/1, 213-281.

<sup>350</sup> AS II/1, 229. Cf. also the *Relatio* by Cardinal Browne, 339-340.

<sup>351</sup> Cf. full text, "in Ecclesiae atque apostolatus incrementum, Spiritus dat fidelibus varia charismata (...). Quae charismata sive clarissima sive etiam simpliciora et latius diffusa, cum sint necessitatibus Ecclesiae apprime accomodata et proficua, cum gratiarum actione ac consolatione accipienda sunt (...)", AS II/1, 259-260. Schema 1 had also featured the word *charisma*, yet its meaning is not so clear. For comments, see the analysis of LG 4's sentence on charisms (sentence 4) in chapter 5.4.

<sup>352</sup> AS II/3, 211-213. Cf. his opening words: "Circa caput *de populo Dei* et speciatim *de laicis*, proponere vellem tantum animadversionem generalem quae videtur christianis orientalibus maximi momenti. Haec est: quidam enim fere abest ab hoc capite, scil. *Spiritus Sanctus*. Sermo quidem fit de Spiritu Sancto, in cap. I huius schematis, in par. 3, sed postea non satis apparet eius praesentiam unificare totum mysterium Ecclesia". In fact, different from what Ziadé claimed, the chapter contained ten references to the Holy Spirit; yet he was right in claiming that these did not function as a unifying concept. For

charisms sparked a famous debate between Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini, archbishop of Palermo (Italy) and member of the Council of Presidents,<sup>353</sup> and Cardinal Suenens, a member of the Coordinating Commission (established in December 1962) and one of the four delegates or moderators nominated by Paul VI (in September 1963). While Ruffini claimed that charisms belong to the apostolic era and have since almost ceased,<sup>354</sup> Suenens pleaded for charisms as part of the life of the Church here and now, in forms both common and special, and given to hierarchy and lay faithful alike.<sup>355</sup> And in the discussion on chapter four Cardinal Julius Döpfner, archbishop of München and Freising (Germany), speaking in the name of seventy-eight other Council fathers, called out in reaction to the chapter on holiness and religious: “May the power (*vis*) of the Holy Spirit not be left out of the work of sanctification!”<sup>356</sup>

In Schema 3, the number of Spirit-references increased to seventy-nine references in fifty-five articles (July 1964 version), both because the number of Spirit-references in the existing texts increased and because new articles were added. For example, the short reference to the Spirit’s inward working in the reflection on the mystical body in DE 7 was developed into a short pneumatological reflection. Similarly, the reflection on *sensus fidei* and *charismata* in DE 12 became more robustly pneumatological. The Spirit’s significance for the hierarchy and truth was developed too, especially in relation to the hierarchy’s teaching office,<sup>357</sup> and five Spirit-references were added to the chapter on holiness. Further, the new reflections on unity in DE 13, on mission in DE 17, and on the lay participation in the common priesthood in DE 34 brought eight more references to the text. The new

---

the text, see AS II/1, 256-262. Ziadé (1906-1994), a member of the Commission on Oriental Churches, repeatedly spoke out critically to advocate amongst others for a more pneumatological approach of the Church, see M. Quisinsky, “Ziadé, Ignace”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 295-296.

<sup>353</sup> Ruffini (1888-1967), who started his career as a Scripture scholar, was a member of the Central Preparatory Commission. He was involved in the traditionalist *Coetus Internationalis Patrum* from its earliest days. See Ph. Roy, “Ruffini, Ernesto”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 234-235; Roy, *Le coetus internationalis patrum*, 1672.

<sup>354</sup> AS II/2, 629-630, cf.: “(charismata) copiosa erant initio Ecclesiae; sed postea paullatim ita decreverunt ut fere cessaverint” and “rarissima sint et prorsus singularis”.

<sup>355</sup> AS II/3, 175-178. For more extensive discussion, see the analysis of the development of LG 4’s sentence on charisms in chapter 5.4.

<sup>356</sup> AS II/3, 605, “Ne omittatur in opere sanctificationis vis Spiritus Sancti!”. Ironically, their own text proposal had not been affected by that cry, see 611-616. Döpfner (1913-1976), a member of the Central Preparatory Commission, was named in the Coordinating Commission (January 1963) and was one of the four Delegates or Moderators that were named in September 1963. See S. Mokry, “Döpfner, Julius”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 94-95, cf. G. Treffler (ed.), *Julius Kardinal Döpfner: Konzilstagebücher, Briefe und Notizen zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2006).

<sup>357</sup> Compare DE 19, Schema 2, which corresponds to article DE 25, Schema 3. While Schema 2 said in this respect that the hierarchy fulfills its teaching office *sub lumine Spiritus* and *praelucente Spiritu veritatis*, Schema 3 added two more references (*sub assistentia Spiritus Sancti* and *propter actionem eiusdem Spiritus Sancti*). For both texts, see AS III/1, 220-222.

chapters on eschatology and the heavenly Church (chapter seven) and Mary (chapter eight) added ten Spirit-references to the text.

The quantitative development added to the consistency and robustness of the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium*. While in its development of the notion of *sensus fidei*, Schema 2 had mentioned the Holy Spirit a single time (DE 24), Schema 3 mentioned the Spirit one more time (in what now had become DE 12). In addition, it developed the Spirit's role further by transferring the verb *sustentatur* from the hierarchy to the Spirit, so that not the hierarchy but the Spirit was stated to sustain the *sensus fidei*, and by making the Spirit the sole author of the *sensus fidei*. Thus it simultaneously decreased the role of the hierarchy and increased the Spirit's role.<sup>358</sup>

Nonetheless, not all chapters and articles were affected by pneumatological renewal. The trinitarian introduction in LG 2-4 was preceded by another christocentric opening article LG 1, which did not manifest trinitarian or pneumatological renewal and remained Christ-centered. Nissiotis was right in pointing out that holds also true for the following sections.<sup>359</sup> Or pneumatological renewal was marginal, such as in the chapter on the religious. When mentioned, the Holy Spirit was especially related to the hierarchy's office of leading the religious.<sup>360</sup> And finally, the introduction of a new, relatively Spirit-minded article LG 34 did not affect the chapter on the laity as a whole, as figure one in chapter 3.1 demonstrated.<sup>361</sup>

The development of LG 48, which will be studied in detail in chapter 6.2, provides a more dramatic example of the text's increasing pneumatological consistency and robustness. During the Third Period, the recently added chapters seven and eight were commented on and reworked. As a result, the October 1964 version of LG 48, which in its September version had made no reference to the Spirit whatsoever, featured four references to the Spirit. The text on an eschatological lifestyle may serve as a case in point. Instead of describing the faithful as united with Christ and therefore sons of God, as the September 1964 version had done, the improved October 1964 version breathed a rather trinitarian atmosphere. It considered the foundation of sonship in both Christological and

---

<sup>358</sup> For details, see J. Moons, "«Aroused and sustained by the Holy Spirit»? A Plea for a Pneumatological Reconsideration of *Sensus Fidei* on the Basis of *Lumen Gentium* 12", *Gregorianum* 99 (2018), 271-292.

<sup>359</sup> "The Trinity, once mentioned in the prologue, to be precise in three paragraphs corresponding to the functions of the three divine Persons, is given little importance in the seven other chapters", Nissiotis, "The Main Ecclesiological Problem of the Second Vatican Council", 33.

<sup>360</sup> See chapter six, sections LG 43-47, the first three of which contain references to the Spirit. The reference *duce Spiritu Sancto* in LG 43 was introduced at a late moment, see *AS* III/8, 129. The reference *infinitam Spiritus Sancti operationem* in LG 44 was introduced in Schema 3, but it was not very new, as Schema 2 and Schema 1 spoke also of the Spirit working in the Church in relation to the religious. Finally, the reference in LG 45 on the hierarchy following the *Spiritus Sancti impulsus* dates back to Schema 1, see *AS* I/4, DE 34, 272-273.

<sup>361</sup> Chapter four consists of nine sections, LG 30-38, with Spirit-references only in LG 32 (one) and LG 34 (four); both were added in Schema 3.

pneumatological terms: “Coniuncti ergo Christo in Ecclesia et signati Spiritu Sancto «qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae» (Eph. 1,14), vere filii Dei nominamur et sumus (cf. 1 Io. 3,1)”.<sup>362</sup>

A few Council fathers mentioned the Holy Spirit or pneumatology in their request for small final changes (or *modi*); some of these were accepted. For example, the reference in DE 17 “Go therefore and teach ...” (Matthew 28) was now quoted in full, so that the baptismal commandment to baptise “in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit” was included in the text,<sup>363</sup> and the hierarchy was now said to fulfil its leading role in relation to the religious “under the lead of the Holy Spirit” (*duce Spiritu Sancto*).<sup>364</sup>

## 4.2 Players Involved in Pneumatological Renewal

This may suffice as a first introduction into the redaction-historical pneumatological development of *Lumen gentium*. Clearly, the number and quality of the Spirit-references increased, while it is also true that this renewal did not affect all chapters and articles. Making the transition to the hermeneutics of the author, I will now turn to the background of these textual developments. Who were the persons behind *Lumen gentium*’s redaction history? Who were involved, and what were their pneumatological interests?

The first major players were Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI, for the Council was initiated and inaugurated by the former and continued and concluded by the latter. The examples of their influence include the fact that John XXIII’s attitude or “spirit” was repeatedly referred to by Council fathers and Paul VI’s notorious *Nota explicativa praevia*. What were their pneumatological views and, possibly, influences?

Neither of these Popes strikes one as particularly Spirit-minded. John XXIII considered the Holy Spirit as a source of inspiration and sanctification, in the first place for Church leadership – and in this historical moment, also for the Council – and in the second place also for personal inspiration and sanctification. In a prayer issued to prepare for the Council, on September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1959, he invoked the Spirit, “who assists and infallibly guides the Church”, asking that He may pour forth his gifts unto the Council, may enlighten the minds of the bishops, and may make the Council yield abundant fruits.<sup>365</sup> Similarly, in the opening address *Gaudet mater Ecclesia*, John XXIII exhorted all who were present that, “readily obeying the heavenly inspirations of the Holy Spirit, you may eagerly set to work

---

<sup>362</sup> AS III/5, 50.

<sup>363</sup> AS III/6, 102 and 104.

<sup>364</sup> AS III/8, 129 and 136.

<sup>365</sup> For the prayer, see *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 51 (1959), 832, or *ADA*, vol. 1, 48. For a translation, see L. Capovilla (ed.), *Journal of a Soul* (London: G. Chapman, 1964), 391, with a mistake in the translation in the first line. Cf. the more accurate translation on the last page of W. Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II. With Notes and Comments by Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Authorities* (London: G. Chapman, 1966), 793.

so that your efforts will appropriately respond to the desires and needs of the various peoples”.<sup>366</sup> These seem to be rather common views of the Holy Spirit: as assisting Church leadership and inspiring and sanctifying the faithful.

What does stand out as noteworthy, though, is John XXIII’s repeated reference to “a new Pentecost”. With this image, a vision of a vital and loving Church rather than a pneumatological concept, John XXIII evoked a Church that was radiating with vitality and goodness. As the British Vaticanologist Peter Hebblethwaite demonstrated in his biography of John XXIII, the image featured already in a letter dating from just before the 1958 conclave, in which John articulated his thoughts on the Church’s new leader (that he himself would soon be): “my soul finds comfort in the confidence that a new Pentecost can blow through the Church, renewing its head, leading to a new ordering of the ecclesiastical body and bringing fresh vigour in progress towards the victory of truth, goodness and peace”.<sup>367</sup>

The image recurred amongst others in the Apostolic Constitution convoking the Council *Humanae salutis* (December 1961). John XXIII concluded it with a quote from the prayer that he had spread in preparation of the Council, September 1959: “Renew your wonders in our time, as though for (*per*) a new Pentecost, and grant that the holy Church, preserving unanimous and continuous prayer, together with Mary, the mother of Jesus, and also under the guidance of St. Peter, may increase the reign of the Divine Savior, the reign of truth and justice, the reign of love and peace. Amen”.<sup>368</sup> John XXIII referred also to the new Pentecost in the closing address of the First Period (December 1962) and in the January 1963 letter *Mirabilis ille*, considered by some as John XXIII’s testament.<sup>369</sup> It is easy to multiply examples.<sup>370</sup>

---

<sup>366</sup> Komonchak, “Gaudet Mater Ecclesia”, 6 (no. 22).

<sup>367</sup> P. Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII. Pope of the Council* (London: Chapman, 1984), 278. Hebblethwaite quotes from a collection of material edited by L. Capovilla (ed.), *Vent’anni dalla elezione di Giovanni XXIII* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1978), 47.

<sup>368</sup> For the Constitution, see *ADP*, vol. I, 132-139, 138, also in *AAS* 54 (1962), 5-13. Cf. the English translation in W. Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II*, 703-709, 709.

<sup>369</sup> For the closing address, see *AS* I/4, 647, “Tunc procul dubio exoptata illucescet nova Pentecostes, quae Ecclesiam spiritualibus viribus uberius ditabit eiusque maternum afflatum salutaremque vim per omnes humanae navitatis provincias latius propagabit.” For the letter, cf. “Nunc quoque suaviter animum Nostrum sueta subit cogitatio primae Pentecostes, veluti si cotidianae liturgiae haec praecipua existat nota: *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, et hoc quod continet omnia scientiam habet vocis* (Sap. 1,7)”, [https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/la/letters/1963/documents/hf\\_j-xxiii\\_-\\_let\\_19630106\\_mirabilis.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/la/letters/1963/documents/hf_j-xxiii_-_let_19630106_mirabilis.html). For the qualification as “testament”, see Grootaers, “The Drama Continues Between The Acts”, 368-369.

<sup>370</sup> See amongst others the Pentecost address, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1959, recorded in *ADA*, vol. 1, 24-26, 24; the general audience on April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1963, *ADP*, vol. I, 220; the radio message on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963, *ADP*, vol. I, 221; the apostolic letter from April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963, *ADP*, vol. I, 226; the concluding message for a session of the Central Preparatory Commission, May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1963, *ADP*, vol. I, 239. See also Thomas Hughson, who however fails to mention the first reference from before the 1958 conclave, T. Hughson, “Interpreting Vatican II: «A New Pentecost»”, *Theological Studies* 69 (2008), 3-37.

Paul VI was not as fond of the expression of a new Pentecost as John XXIII.<sup>371</sup> In addition, he sent mixed signals about his pneumatological convictions. For on the one hand, his opening address to the Second Period – Paul’s first papal address to the Council – was as rich in references to Christ as it was poor in references to the Holy Spirit.<sup>372</sup> Yet on the other hand, the Holy Spirit figures in his 1964 encyclical letter *Ecclesiam suam* and in other discourses and writings during the Council too.<sup>373</sup> The letter reveals a classical view of the Holy Spirit: related to Church ministry, guiding the (hierarchical?) Church, inspiring the Council, indwelling and sanctifying the Christian.

The second group of actors were the Council fathers. After all, the Council was essentially a gathering of bishops, who expressed their views on the various drafts and their wishes for improvements. Their responsibility included also the approval of the texts after they had been improved. In doing so, they were assisted by theological experts, both officially nominated Council *periti* and advisors to individual bishops. The work of improving drafts was not done by all the Council fathers but by the various Commissions. In the case of *Lumen gentium*, the Doctrinal Commission and its experts played an important role in producing and revising drafts, a role the Commission largely delegated to special Subcommissions and their experts. The earlier brief overview of the development of *Lumen gentium*’s pneumatology suggests that pneumatology was only exceptionally a major concern for the Council fathers, the Doctrinal Commission and the theological experts.

Finally, individuals played a role too. In the case of *Lumen gentium* Philips’ role cannot be overestimated. As Congar noted when during the Fourth Period Philips’ presence came to an end: “il n’est pas seul à avoir mis au monde ces textes, mais il en est pourtant le père”.<sup>374</sup> With assistance from

---

<sup>371</sup> Cf. the reference to Pentecost – without *new* – in Paul VI’s opening addresses to the Second and Third Period, *AS* II/1, 196 and *AS* III/1, 142. Thomas Hughson argues differently, although he admits that Paul VI does not use the expression. As therefore Hughson states something that is not warranted by the text, his argument is unconvincing. See Hughson, “Interpreting Vatican II: «A New Pentecost»”, 13-14.

<sup>372</sup> See chapter 2.2, where I also pointed out that the opening address to the Third Session was considerably richer in this regard. Later, post-conciliar references to devotion to and study of the Holy Spirit possibly testify to a better, richer appreciation of the Holy Spirit, cf. his famous and oft-quoted statement that “the Christology and particularly the ecclesiology of the Council must be succeeded by a new study of and devotion to the Holy Spirit, precisely as the indispensable complement to the teaching of the Council” (General Audience, June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1973). For text and context of this quote, see E. O’Connor, *Pope Paul and the Spirit. Charisms and Church Renewal in the Teaching of Paul VI* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1978), 192-193.

<sup>373</sup> For a list and (very short) analysis, see E.J. Kilmartin, “Paul VI’s References to the Holy Spirit in Discourses and Writings on the Second Vatican Council, 1963-1965”, *Paolo VI e i problemi ecclesiologici al concilio. Colloquio internazionale di studio, Brescia 19-20-21 settembre 1986* (Roma: Edizione Studium, 1989), 399-406. Cf. Sh.M. Vazhayil, *The Relationship between Pneumatology and Ecclesiology in the Teachings of Pope Paul VI. Excerpta ex disseratione etc.* (Romae: Pontificas universitas Gregoriana, 2001).

<sup>374</sup> Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 465. Congar made this evaluation on the day Philips left Rome, on November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1965.



various colleagues, he was responsible for the new basis text for *De Ecclesia* (see chapter 5.2 and 5.3) as well as for processing the various wishes. Although Philips was an affable man, who worked at the service of the Council and within the body of the Doctrinal Commission, it is also true that he worked in relative autonomy.

What was Philips' pneumatological interest? A quick glance at some of Philips' work as listed in his *Bibliographia academica*, an in-depth study of which is beyond the confines of this thesis, shows that Philips' extensive body of academic works included teaching and writing on the Trinity and the Holy Spirit.<sup>375</sup> In 1948 he wrote a review article on the complex and intensely discussed theological topic of the Spirit's indwelling,<sup>376</sup> and in an article published the next year, Philips deplored the fact that Christians understand God primarily as the one God-Creator, and pleaded for a richer knowledge and appreciation of the Trinity.<sup>377</sup> In the late 1950s, he taught various courses on the Holy Spirit.<sup>378</sup> On the other hand, in his widely distributed ecclesiology *De heilige Kerk*, Philips only occasionally discussed the Holy Spirit, namely in relation to Pentecost, understood as the birth of the Church, and in relation to the hierarchy's ministry of truth.<sup>379</sup> In that light, it does not surprise that, as we will see soon, Philips' early alternative drafts for *De Ecclesia* were Christ-centered and featured binitarian opening articles (see chapter 5.2).

Thus various players were involved in *Lumen gentium*'s redaction history. Admittedly, it is not always possible to specify who was responsible for a given change. More importantly, even if it is possible, it should be borne in mind that the Council was typically a common venture. For example, although Philips was ultimately responsible for it, the alternative text on the Church drafted by him (see chapter 2.2) was the result of extensive collaboration. Moreover, when the Council fathers approved a given text, the status of that text changed from a draft proposed by a (sub)commission to a text embraced by the whole Council. Nonetheless, it will become clear that making these distinctions contributes to the accuracy of the redaction-historical analysis I will be conducting in chapters five and six and thereby helps to establish what exactly the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* consists of.

---

<sup>375</sup> "Bibliographia academica", Gesché, Schruers, Coppens (eds.), *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta*, XVII-XXXVII.

<sup>376</sup> G. Philips, "Le Saint-Esprit en nous. À propos d'un livre récent (P. Galtier, Le Saint-Esprit en nous d'après les Pères grecs)", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* 24 (1948), 127-135.

<sup>377</sup> G. Philips, "De heilige drievuldigheid in het leven van de Christen", *Tijdschrift voor geestelijk leven* 5 (1949), 225-244.

<sup>378</sup> "Bibliographia academica", no. 302, "De Spiritu Sancto et Ecclesia in theologia contemporanea. Cursus 1957-1958"; no. 312, "De Spiritu Sancto in vita Ecclesiae. Cursus 1958-1959"; no. 324, "De Spiritu Sancto in vita Ecclesiae (continuatur). De Epiclesi. Cursus 1959-1960.

<sup>379</sup> G. Philips, *De heilige Kerk*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed. (Antwerpen: Pantheon, 1945); first edition, 1935; French translation, 1947.

### 4.3 Motives for Pneumatological Renewal

Thirdly, I would like to introduce three important motives for textual renewal. To distinguish these motives allows for a more detailed understanding of *Lumen gentium*'s redaction history in the same way as the distinction between various actors did. The exact way in which these motives work will become clear in chapters five and six. For now it is sufficient to introduce these categories.

A first major motive is what I like to call the conciliar motive. Philips and the other editors of the drafts were aware that the Council was meant to be a common undertaking and therefore attempted to establish a "truly conciliar" text.<sup>380</sup> They listened to the requests by Council fathers and the advice of the experts, and included these whenever possible and reasonable. In doing so, they heeded Paul VI's wish for not merely the required two-thirds majority, but a 'moral unanimity'; as we saw in chapter 2.2 this hope came true when the Council fathers' votes.<sup>381</sup>

Such a conciliar mindset was in no way a given. Both Philips and Charue noted in their diaries that Tromp did not take critical observations into consideration.<sup>382</sup> This accorded both with the Doctrinal Commission's initial self-understanding and Tromp's character. For the Commission jealously guarded its autonomy as keeper of the truth and refused to collaborate with others until, during the First Period and its subsequent Intersession, it was forced by the Coordinating Commission to do so.

Different from Tromp, Philips was open to the views of those around him and sensitive to their opinion. His attitude rooted not only in an awareness of what a Council is, but also in his personality, characterised by Congar as "peaceable, pleasant, conciliatory".<sup>383</sup> Philips tried to maintain good relationships. Therefore, when Tromp felt sidelined during the First Period, Philips paid him a visit to alleviate his pain. He made the visit "non pas pour échanger des idées au point de vue théologique (car cela est impossible) mais pour lui permettre de s'épancher. Il le fait effectivement, en

---

<sup>380</sup> These words were used by Charue at the presentation of the first chapter of Schema 3: "Dicere possumus quod praecise propter communem conatum et omnium cooperationem, textus Commissionis doctrinalis vere «conciliaris» evasit", *AS* III/1, 467.

<sup>381</sup> For this unanimity, see a.o. R. Gaillardetz, *The Church in the Making. Lumen Gentium, Christus Dominus, Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (Mahwah, NY: Paulist Press, 2006), xvii.

<sup>382</sup> Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 82 (cf. 4), "J'ai rendu visite au P. Tromp. Il me déclare avoir reçu 160 lettres avec des remarques des évêques sur les schémas proposés. Il déclare les classer en ajoutant: je n'en retiens rien". Cf. the observation during a later meeting: "Mais pas encore d'hésitations sur ses propres thèses", 95. Charue recorded the same story, which he heard from Philips, see Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 36 (= October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1962).

<sup>383</sup> Congar explained the importance of Philips amongst others from "son caractère pacifique, avenant, conciliant. Il accueille tout le monde et tout. Il en fait ensuite ce qu'il veut, mais tout le monde a été accueilli, mis en confiance", Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 55. Cf. Grootaers' qualification of Philips as a "homo conciliaris", Grootaers, "Le rôle de Mgr G. Philips à Vatican II", 374-380.

chargeant plus les autres que moi-même”.<sup>384</sup> When people were unhappy with him, he suffered. His diary reveals how painful it was for him when, at the presentation of the official text in the Council hall, Cardinal Ottaviani expressed his anger about his alternative draft.<sup>385</sup> Therefore, he followed and included suggestions and wishes into the text as much as possible. The advantage of this way of proceeding was that the text Philips produced met with broad approval. Its disadvantage was that this text risked lacking unity and becoming, in Congar’s terms, like a train with many carriages without unity.<sup>386</sup>

This conciliar approach implied collaboration. When Cardinal Suenens asked Philips in October 1962 to draft an alternative for *De Ecclesia*, he also mentioned the need to work with others. In his diary Philips noted:

Le cardinal me demande d’exécuter cette tâche, et de retravailler librement le schéma, après avoir pris contact avec d’autres théologiens qu’il me nomme. Ceci pour éviter la multiplication des initiatives. (...). Les collaborateurs sont Congar, Lécuyer, Colombo, qui ont été aussi membres de la Commission préparatoire; de plus K. Rahner, Ratzinger, Semmelroth. Mgr McGrath s’ajoute au groupe. J’ai aussi des contacts avec Cerfaux, qui écrit un court projet pour le premier chapitre au sujet du Corps mystique; avec Onclin au sujet de la juridiction, l’appartenance à l’Église, etc. Je ne me souviens plus si Thils y était aussi.<sup>387</sup>

As we will see in the following chapters, Philips worked not only in the initial phase together with others, he continued to learn from others, including from the minority group. During the October 1962 deliberations on an alternative schema, Philips called to mind the necessity of some “rapport (*verstandhouding*) with the other group (*de andere groep*)”.<sup>388</sup> Indeed, as he explained to Gagnebet, in

---

<sup>384</sup> Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 88 (cf. 10-11). Cf. a similar visit during the Intersession, on February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963, *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 95-96. Tromp recorded the visit as well, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 259.

<sup>385</sup> Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 86. A similar experience is recorded in relation to a meeting of the Doctrinal Commission on March 5<sup>th</sup>, “la séance la plus pénible”, 97.

<sup>386</sup> Cf. Congar’s complaint on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September, 1963 (the first day of the discussion on Schema 2): “Le schéma reflète ses origines. Il n’a jamais été conçu comme un *De Ecclesia*; il n’a même pas été «conçu» du tout en tant qu’ensemble. De sorte qu’on y ajoute un chapitre ou un autre comme on ajoute des wagons à un embryon de train. Cela demanderait à être «conçu» COMME ENSEMBLE et selon un certain ordre qui aurait, en lui-même, valeur de doctrine”, Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 410, cf. 583.

<sup>387</sup> Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 83.

<sup>388</sup> Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 5. The French translation reads “le groupe adversaire”, which is more than what the Dutch *andere groep* means, see *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 83.

composing his first alternative draft, Philips used the text of Schema 1, although he admitted that in the case of the first chapter that was true only for the first and final article.<sup>389</sup>

A second major motive for change was highly practical, namely editorial. A process of editing and reviewing led to a more concise and structured argument with a more accurate way of dealing with Scripture. From the very start of his involvement in drafts for *De Ecclesia*, Philips explicitly articulated his editorial intentions. For example, his October 1962 text he prefaced with critical observations on amongst others the document's lack of unity. Later drafts repeated this observation in almost identical wording: "The text proposed by the Doctrinal Commission consists of eleven chapters that seem distinct from one another (*velut inter se separatis*), the general structure and belonging-together (*coalescentia*) of which are not clear. I propose that (the chapters, JM) are reduced to a more manifest unity and that the overly juridical expression that is used in numerous articles is replaced by another, more biblical and pastoral one".<sup>390</sup>

Philips was not the only one to plead for a better text, for during the later discussion in the aula, various Council fathers commented in a similar way. On December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962, the first day *De Ecclesia* was on the table, Cardinal Ruffini remarked that various topics treated in *De Ecclesia* were also treated elsewhere. He therefore suggested to drop certain chapters and to merge others.<sup>391</sup> Cardinal Franz König, archbishop of Vienna (Austria) and member of the Doctrinal Commission, proposed to shorten the text.<sup>392</sup> Further, on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, Cardinal Döpfner stated that "before all else the structure of the schema displeases. It is too long and too outward (*extrinseca*). It is difficult to find a fundamental idea that runs all through the text (...).The individual chapters are juxtaposed with too little connection".<sup>393</sup> Jean Rupp, bishop of Monaco (France), also deplored the lack of an *idée directrice* or *Grundgedanke*.<sup>394</sup> Earlier that day Denis Hurley, Oblate of Mary and archbishop of

---

<sup>389</sup> Cf. Grootaers' speculation that Philips' draft was chosen as basis because he had sought "a *via media*, involving some compromises, between the old schema and the calls for a new approach", Grootaers, "The Drama continues between the Acts", 401.

<sup>390</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 419, 1. When Philips elaborated his notes, he specified his intention as "breviter exponatur", no. 421, 1. Cf. his remark on "a more concise structure" (*een knappere structuur*, translated as "une meilleure structure"), Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 5 and 83. During the Council, Emile-Arsène Blanchet, rector of the Institut catholique in Paris and titular Archbishop, seems to echo Philips in his intervention on December 4<sup>th</sup>, see *AS* I/4, 233-234.

<sup>391</sup> *AS* I/4, 128.

<sup>392</sup> *AS* I/4, 132, "Mihi videntur schema brevius esse redigendum, ne disputationes sine fine excitentur". Cf. "Cap. V brevius fieri possit. Cap VII, *de Ecclesiae magisterio*, et cap. VIII, *de auctoritate et oboedientia in Ecclesia*, brevius redactum uniantur, nam in utroque capite de auctoritate et de oboedientia agendum est quia sunt notiones correlativeae", 133. For König (1905-2004), see D. Neuhold, "König, Franz", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 155-156.

<sup>393</sup> *AS* I/4, 184.

<sup>394</sup> *AS* I/4, 204. Rupp (1905-1983), who became the bishop of Monaco in 1962, stood sympathetic towards the traditionalist *Coetus Internationalis Patrum*, see Ph. Roy, "Rupp, Jean", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 236.

Durban (South Africa), had stated that this text and all the texts from the preparatory period were in need of a *via purgativa* for their lack of unity.<sup>395</sup> That was a barely veiled critique of the work of the Central Preparatory Commission that Hurley himself had been part of.

These complaints may well have been inspired by what Rahner, Semmelroth and Schillebeeckx had written in their *animadversiones*. Schillebeeckx' first observation in response to Schema 1 had been that "the structure of this ecclesiological explanation is rather confused and not constructed in an organic manner" and Rahner and Semmelroth had noted as their fifth critique: "The draft lacks an organic and clear structure as well as a correct sequence of the chapters".<sup>396</sup> In his overview of reactions to Schema 1 Tromp therefore correctly summarised: "Many find that the *schema* is not sufficiently synthetic and lacks unity".<sup>397</sup> In the exploration of the development of LG 4 and LG 48, we will see multiple examples of restructuring and shortening the text.

The fact that Philips was not the only in one to address the consistency and coherence of the document makes that the editorial motive falls in fact under the umbrella of the conciliar motive. Clearly, listening to the Council fathers, the experts and the observers – the editorial motive – involved listening to their editorial concerns. Thus the editorial motive may be described as a specific type of the conciliar motive, which draws attention to the partly practical nature of the textual changes. Textual development was not only a matter of heeding Council fathers, but also of writing properly.

Editorial concerns also included an improved accuracy when it came to Scripture. Already Philips' first October 1962 text had an explanatory note to the effect that this text was based on the insights of recent exegetical studies,<sup>398</sup> which was an indirect critique of the use of Scripture in Schema 1. This remark was repeated in later drafts. Similar remarks were voiced during the first conciliar debate on *De Ecclesia*. Cardinal Döpfner noted as shortcoming not only Schema 1's lack of structure, but also its use of Scripture. "The way of speaking (*dictio*) and the argumentation frequently

---

<sup>395</sup> AS I/4, 197, "Schema *de Ecclesia* in genere mihi non multum placet propter defectum illum quasi toti operi praeparatorio Concilii communem, nempe carentiam unitatis et coordinationis". Hurley (1915-2004) was a member of the Central Preparatory Commission and of the Commission for Seminaries, Studies and Catholic Schools. See M. Quisinsky, "Hurley, Denis", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 138.

<sup>396</sup> Cf. the Latin text of their contributions. Schillebeeckx wrote: "1. Structura huius expositiones ecclesiologicae est sat confusa, nec organica modo constructa", von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 1066. Rahner wrote, "5. Schema caret structura organica et perspicua et recto ordine capitum inter se", Rahner, Semmelroth, *Animadversiones «De Ecclesia»*, 299. For elaboration of the point of influence, see the chapter "Die Spuren der *Animadversiones* in den ekklesiologischen Reden der Deutschsprachigen Bischöfe während der Sessio 1", in Wassilowsky, *Universales Heilssakrament Kirche*, 264-274.

<sup>397</sup> S. Tromp, "Relatio de Observationibus factis a Patribus Concilii circa primum Schema constitutionis de Ecclesia", von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 620-653, 629, cf. the Latin, "Multi autem putant schema oblatum non esse satis syntheticum et desiderari unitatem".

<sup>398</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 421, 1, "Expositio non erit repetitio doctrinae vulgatae et velut classicae, sed talis ut, secundum emolumenta recentioris studii exegetici, patristici et speculativae reflexionis, breviter exponatur placita principaliora pro intensiore vita Ecclesiae catholicae, eo modo ut animam bene dispositam intime commoveant".

lack a more profound use of Sacred Scripture”. In his eyes, the Schema used Scripture to justify certain ecclesiological realities and theological views.<sup>399</sup> Even more forthright in his comments was Cardinal Bea, a German Jesuit and former rector of the *Biblicum*, according to whom Schema 1 used Scripture without considering context: “On quotes from Sacred Scripture I will say no more. Often these are taken out of their contexts and therefore hardly really prove anything”.<sup>400</sup> This critique too may well have been inspired by Rahner and Semmelroth.<sup>401</sup> The concern for Scriptural accuracy was especially visible in the task, entrusted to a Subcommission, to check the Scripture references of the drafts for Schema 3. In this respect, it was important that Philips closely collaborated with Lucien Cerfaux, who was a professional exegete,<sup>402</sup> and Bishop Charue, a former student of Cerfaux.

Finally, pneumatological and ecclesiological convictions constituted a third motive for change were. We have seen, and we will see in more detail, that various Council fathers, experts and observers expressed pneumatological wishes that were rooted in theological convictions. That is also true for the various alternative drafts and the improvements between Schema 1 and the final text, *Lumen gentium*. Again, the fact that various Council fathers, experts and observers addressed these theological aspects of the text makes that the theological motive falls under the umbrella of the conciliar motive as well. Thus the theological motive may be described as a specific type of the conciliar motive, which draws attention to the theologically inspired textual changes.

Admittedly it is not easy to identify in specific cases what motive was at work. For example, in taking into consideration a given suggestion by some Council father – which corresponds to the conciliar motive – Philips probably also looked into the suggestion’s scriptural accuracy and its theological significance; thus he was also driven by the editorial and theological motive. At the same time, the amount of material on the table was such that Philips can hardly have done so at all times. That can also be argued negatively, for otherwise the final text would have been more consistent and coherent. Therefore, the distinction between the three motives reveals (and thereby allows to address) that textual change is not always grounded in theological convictions. Change may be ‘only’

<sup>399</sup> *AS* I/4, 184. Cf. *AS* I/4, 187, “Alia exempla deficientis usus S. Scripturae sunt ...”.

<sup>400</sup> *AS* I/4, 229, “De citationibus ex Sacra Scriptura nihil amplius addo. Saepe extrahuntur a suis contextibus et propterea vix vere probant”. During subsequent Periods, Bea would often return to the point of (a lack of) exegetical accuracy. Bea (1881-1968), who had been the confessor of Pius XII (1945-1958) was promoted to the cardinalate in 1959, after which John XXIII named him in 1960 to head the newly founded Secretariat for Christian Unity. See Ph. Roy, “Bea, Augustin”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 48-50, cf. M. Hardt, “Bea, Augustin”, Ernesti, Thönissen (eds.), *Personenlexikon Ökumene*, 34-36.

<sup>401</sup> Cf. “4. Schema non satis prae se fert cognitionem exegeticam et dogmaticam quoad Ecclesiologiam, cum citationes biblicae non sint nisi «dicta probantia» alicuius expositionis, qui unice derivatur ex encyclicis ultimi saeculi et proinde non satis doctrinam Scripturae et traditionis actuat”, Rahner, Semmelroth, “Animadversiones «De Ecclesia»”, 298-299.

<sup>402</sup> Cerfaux (1883-1968), a consultant of the papal biblical commission from 1941 and a member of the Preconciliar Theological Commission from 1960, was a Council *peritus* and played an important role in checking the conciliar documents exegetically. See K. Schelkens, “Cerfaux, Lucien”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 74-76.

practically inspired, or even, it may be inspired simply by the fact that somebody asked for it and by Philips' view of the Council, as a common venture.

## Chapter 5

### A Case Study of *Lumen Gentium* 4

In this chapter I turn to LG 4, that I explore with three questions: What changed in this text? Who were involved in these changes? And what were their motives? Finally I will assess, on the basis of the answers to these questions, what the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* consists in. What deliberate changes for the better exactly did the text undergo?

Both because the material is overwhelming in quantity and because the pneumatological renewal the material reveals situates itself at different levels, I present my findings in four parts. I start from the most abstract level, to end with the most concrete level. After a short introduction of LG 4's content and its place in the whole of *Lumen gentium* (chapter 5.1), I will explore the introduction of LG 4 in Schema 2 (chapter 5.2), how the text was introduced, who were involved, and what their arguments were. As LG 4 should be considered not only as a list of distinct sentences but also as a unity, I then turn to LG 4 as a whole (chapter 5.3). How did the particular style that is characteristic of LG 4 develop? What made the Council fathers adopt this style? Fourthly I delve into each sentence (chapter 5.4). Although this may have the disadvantage of some repetition, it enables a more layered analysis of pneumatological renewal. Finally, in the conclusion I will bring the material together.

#### 5.1 Introduction. Text – Pneumatology – Context

Before delving into LG 4's redaction history, I will first introduce the text, its pneumatology and context. Figure five on the next page renders the full text of LG 4 that I have divided in subsections. I have added subtitles, numbered the sentences and made both explicit and implicit references to the Spirit bold.

Figure five shows that *Lumen gentium* 4 is a relatively short, dense reflection, containing seven sentences with eighteen Spirit-propositions. It may be divided into three subsections. The first two sentences are introductory. Both sentences are expressly trinitarian. After presenting the Spirit as a follow up to Christ's, God-given mission (discussed in LG 3), the first sentence specifies the objective of the Spirit's mission both in Church-related terms as sanctification of the Church and in spiritual and eschatological terms as access "in the one Spirit, through the Son, to the Father". The second sentence highlights the Spirit as "Spirit of life", which it elaborates in a trinitarian manner too. The second and longest subsection focuses on the Spirit. It consists of four sentences that together constitute a litany of activities of the Spirit, involving indwelling, prayer, divine sonship, truth, communion and unity,



hierarchical and charismatic gifts, spiritual fruits, renewal and eschatological unity.<sup>403</sup> The last subsection stands out for its content and its make-up. It starts with an indentation, and consists of a single sentence with a doxology on the Church's unity with the Trinity's (Cyprian and others). With its return to the trinitarian perspective, it is best understood as a conclusion to articles LG 2-4.<sup>404</sup>

<b>Lumen gentium 4</b>
<p><b>Trinitarian Introduction</b></p> <p>(1) Opere autem consummato, quod Pater Filio commisit in terra faciendum (cf. Io 17,4), missus est <b>Spiritus</b> Sanctus die Pentecostes, ut (<b>Spiritus</b>) Ecclesiam iugiter sanctificaret, atque ita credentes per Christum <b>in uno Spiritu</b> accessum haberent ad Patrem (cf. Eph 2,18).</p> <p>(2) Ipse est <b>Spiritus vitae</b> seu fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam (cf. Io 4,14; 7,38-39), <b>per quem</b> (<b>Spiritus</b>) Pater homines, peccato mortuos, vivificat, donec eorum mortalia corpora in Christo resuscitet (cf. Rom 8,10-11).</p> <p><b>The Holy Spirit</b></p> <p>(3) <b>Spiritus</b> in Ecclesia et in cordibus fidelium tamquam in templo habitat (cf. 1Cor 3,16; 6,19), (<b>Spiritus</b>) in eisque orat et testimonium adoptionis eorum reddit (cf. Gal 4,6; Rom 8,15-16 et 26).</p> <p>(4) Ecclesiam, quam (<b>Spiritus</b>) in omnem veritatem inducit (cf. Io 16,13) et (quam <b>Spiritus</b>) in communione et ministracione unificat, (<b>Spiritus</b>) diversis donis hierarchicis et charismaticis instruit ac dirigit, et (<b>Spiritus</b>) fructibus suis adornat (cf. Eph 4,11-12; 1Cor 12,4; Gal 5,22).</p> <p>(5) Virtute Evangelii (<b>Spiritus</b>) iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat et (eam <b>Spiritus</b>) ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem perducit (cf. Irenaeus, <i>Adv. Haer.</i> III, 24,1).</p> <p>(6) Nam <b>Spiritus</b> et Sponsa ad Dominum Iesum dicunt: Veni! (cf. Apoc 22,17).</p> <p><b>Conclusion LG 2-4</b></p> <p>(7) Sic apparet universa Ecclesia sicuti «de unitate Patris et Filii et <b>Spiritus Sancti</b> plebs adunata» (S. Cyprianus, <i>De Orat. Dom.</i> 23; Augustinus, <i>Serm.</i> 71, 20, 33; Damascenus, <i>Adv. Iconocl.</i> 12).</p>

**Figure 5.** *Lumen gentium* 4 divided into subsections, with sentence numbers, bold and titles added, and implied Spirit-references explicated.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the pneumatology of these subsections and sentences is unique and may be called bold. LG 4's many Spirit-propositions portray the Spirit mostly as actively involved in the faithful and the Church, in complementarity to Christ, and with a foundational significance for the Church.

<sup>403</sup> One could also consider sentence six as a conclusive sentence, for different from the preceding sentences, and similar to sentence seven, the Spirit's concrete activity towards the Church is not spelled out. However, the redaction-historical analysis will clarify that one should rather interpret the sentence as belonging together with the previous sentence, on renewal and eschatological unity.

<sup>404</sup> For the indentation, see *AS* III/8, 785; already in *AS* II/1, 217, cf the indentation used in the *Commentarius*, *AS* II/1, 230. Although Philips does not follow this typography in his commentary, he too considers the sentence a summary of LG 2-4 (or LG 1-4), for he comments as follows: "Le prologue de la Constitution se termine par un rappel aussi dense que concis du thème: *Ecclesia de Trinitate*, l'Église fruit de la Sainte Trinité". See Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 91, cf. 88. With these words, Philips echoes the *Commentarius* to Schema 2, probably written by himself, which stated that "In Conclusionem huius partis, connexio Ecclesiae cum SS. Trinitatis verbis S. Cypriani exprimitur", *AS* II/1, 230.

The article is of paramount significance for the whole of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church as it belongs together with LG 2-4, that, as the *Commentarius* to Schema 2 explained, “demonstrate that the doctrine of the Church has its foundation in the primary dogma of christianity”.<sup>405</sup> In focusing not on the Church, but on God, these articles echo LG 1. In the same way as LG 1 started with Christ, the light of the peoples, and discussed the Church’s calling in that context, similarly LG 2-4 considered the Church in the context of God Father, Son, Spirit.<sup>406</sup>

However, precisely in being unique, LG 4’s pneumatology is also isolated. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, other articles feature less, and incidentally no Spirit-propositions. In these, the Spirit’s involvement is less frequently articulated in an active manner. In addition, often the trinitarian framework is christocentric, with the references to the Spirit having a clarifying rather than foundational argumentative weight. For example, although articles LG 1 and LG 2-4 share a theological approach of the Church, the Christ-centered nature of the opening article LG 1 contrasts sharply with LG 4’s trinitarian perspective. Moreover, the articles immediately following after LG 2-4 resumed the christocentric approach. Articles LG 5 on the Kingdom of God, LG 6 with various Scriptural images of and related to the Church and LG 8 on the transcendent and visible dimension of the Church have all very few references to the Spirit.

One could attempt to explain the above by pointing out that no other article focuses on the Spirit in the way LG 4 does. While other articles with many Spirit-propositions, such as LG 12, discuss the Spirit in the context of the Church, LG 4 does precisely the opposite: discussing the Church in the context of the Spirit. However, a more convincing explanation is the predominantly christocentric theological framework. The previous chapter revealed that this framework, which is very visible in the difference between LG 1 and LG 2-4, is the document’s dominant way to conceive the Trinity (see chapter 3.3). Arguably therefore, LG 4 has little follow up, so that Archbishop Ziadé’s complaint that this section’s pneumatology was not continued in Schema 2’s chapter on the people of God and the laity holds true for the whole of the document’s final text.<sup>407</sup>

---

<sup>405</sup> AS II/1, 229.

<sup>406</sup> Schema 3 relocated various references to the Church from articles DE 2-4 to chapter two, on the people of God, and three, on the hierarchy, as it first wanted to focus on God. Cf. Philips’ 4 times 2 structure discussed in chapter 2.1.

<sup>407</sup> The comment was made in response to Schema 2, in relation to the (then) chapter three, on the people of God and the laity, AS II/3, 211-213, cf. the quote in footnote 347 above.

## 5.2 The Introduction of *Lumen Gentium* 4 and Related Pneumatological Discussions

As I pointed out in the Methodological and Redaction-Historical Introduction in chapter four, *Lumen gentium* initially featured a binitarian introduction, with no article on the Holy Spirit. In this section I will tell the story of the introduction of LG 4. The focus will not be on its content, but on the fact that the Council introduced a Spirit-centered opening article at all. When was it introduced, who were involved, and what made the Council adopt another, more pneumatological and trinitarian perspective? My account will follow the chronology.

### The First Period. Some Signs of a Trinitarian-Pneumatological Concern

When, towards the end of the First Period, the Council fathers discussed *De Ecclesia*, there were little signs of a pneumatological concern about the text's binitarian introduction. In their interventions in the council hall, the bishops occasionally referred to the Holy Spirit, but they never developed these references into a full pneumatological reflection. For example, François Marty, archbishop of Reims (France), characterised the Church as a mystery with its foundation in the Trinity, explaining that the Father loves humankind, redeems it through the Son, and this "under the impulse" of the Holy Spirit, with no further elaboration.<sup>408</sup>

This changed in the written interventions to Schema 1 that were handed in during and after the First Period. Jules Victor Daem, bishop of Antwerp (Belgium), referred to his thirteen years of work experience in pedagogics and didactics to argue for a more organised, understandable, positive and modern text.<sup>409</sup> To illustrate what he meant, he elaborated a new version of chapter one in which not only the role of Christ was highlighted but also the Spirit's. Daem stated that "the presence and action of the Holy Spirit appear frequently in the Acts of the Apostles and in the letters of St. Paul and are

---

<sup>408</sup> AS I/4, 191-192, "Duas observationes mihi liceat proponere: ex eius fonte et ex eius fine, Ecclesia enucleari debet. Ad I. Ecclesia essentialiter est mysterium. In schemate, Ecclesia nimis ut «institutio» videtur, non satis ut «mysterium» proponitur. Hoc autem Ecclesiae mysterium fundamentum suum in Sanctissima Trinitate invenit. Pater diligit homines, quos per Incarnationem redemptricem sui Filii salvat, sub impulsu Spiritus". Marty (1904-1994) was a member of the Commission for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People and reporter on behalf of that Commission, see A. Raffelt, M. Quisinsky, "Marty, François", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 187-188.

<sup>409</sup> Daem (1902-1993) worked between 1950 and 1962 as Secretary and Director of the National Board for Catholic Education (NSKO) after which he became the bishop of Antwerps. He was a member of the Commission for the Seminaries, Studies and Catholic Education. See M. Lamberigts, "Daem, Jules Victor", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 87.

connected with the life of the early Church in such a way that the doctrine, life and offices (*munera*) could not have another source than the Holy Spirit, who makes the Church sanctifying”.<sup>410</sup>

Moreover some Council fathers explicitly took issue with Schema 1’s pneumatology. Bishop Alba Palacios complained about the lack of unity in Schema 1 and suggested that the logic of the Creed, according to which belief in the Church is part of belief in the Holy Spirit, had been forgotten. After several Spirit-related considerations, he concluded with the wish (*votum*) that “in fundamentally rewriting (*redigendo*) the Schema, not only a special chapter should be given to the Holy Spirit, but everything should be edited (*redigenda*) into unity under the light of the work of the Holy Spirit”.<sup>411</sup> Abbot Haller was even more specific in the way he targeted Schema 1’s theological introduction. His comment deserves to be quoted in full:

As no.1 deals with the connection between God the Father and the Church, 2 between the Son and the Church, number 3 should deal with the connection between the Holy Spirit and the Church. Thus the order of the Symbol of the Apostles would be better respected. Also, the Spirit should be mentioned in the Schema more often and more explicitly.<sup>412</sup>

Henri Véniat, a Jesuit and bishop of Fort Archambault (Chad), was similarly outspoken in his written intervention. He noted two shortcomings that he considered to be the root and foundation of many others, namely “an unsatisfactory (*insufficiens*) doctrine on Christ and an unsatisfactory doctrine on the Holy Spirit”. Admitting that the Spirit was mentioned, Véniat regretted amongst others that there was no link between the Holy Spirit and Christ’s resurrection, that Pentecost was not mentioned a single time, and that the Spirit was another word for grace, not for the third person of the Trinity.<sup>413</sup>

The Council fathers had the opportunity to send in further comments until February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963. In that period, Jean Prou, the abbot of Solesmes (France) and later one of the leading figures of the *Coetus internationalis Patrum*,<sup>414</sup> suggested that the reflection should be developed from the Trinity

---

<sup>410</sup> AS I/4, 450, cf. 449-451, cf. “Praesentia et actio Spiritus Sancti (...) ita cum vita Ecclesiae primitivae connectuntur ut communitatis doctrina, vita et munera nullam aliam fontem habere possint quam Spiritum Sanctum qui eam (Ecclesiam, JM) sanctificantem constituit”.

<sup>411</sup> AS I/4, 415, cf. 413-415. Chapter (*caput*) means in this case article.

<sup>412</sup> AS I/4, 509.

<sup>413</sup> AS I/4, 594-595.

<sup>414</sup> Prou (1911-1999), elected abbot of Solesmes in 1959, was a member of the Liturgical Commission, see Ph. Roy, “Prou, Jean”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 22. The *Coetus* was a minority group of traditionalist Council fathers who were concerned about the direction the Council was taking. Formally established as group after the Second Period, its origins can be traced back to the First Period, see Ph. Roy, “Histoire du Coetus Internationalis Patrum au Concile Vatican II”, *Laval théologique et philosophique* 69 (2013), 261-279, 266-271.

or, as he called it, “the mystery of the divine missions, from which the Church receives its origin, goal, power and unity”. In a lengthy reflection he often mentioned the Spirit.<sup>415</sup>

### The Holy Spirit in Alternative Schemas

In the alternative drafts that were sent in during the Intersession, a trinitarian introduction was everything but self-evident. There are little signs that the drafters had heard the pneumatological critique by Alba Palacios, Haller, and Véniat. Admittedly, Philips, who had already been drafting an alternative text before Schema 1 was officially distributed, had altered his binitarian introduction. Yet rather than replacing it with a trinitarian introduction, he added an article on the people of God. His opening article on “the Father’s plan for the universal Church” was followed by a short article on “the people of God” and a longer third one on “Christ’s presence in the Church”, after which subsequent articles focused on the Church.<sup>416</sup> In the third section, Philips explained amongst others that “Christ gives his Spirit to the Church to enlighten and invigorate the soul of pastors and sheep and to help them in giving witness”. He developed Christ’s presence further through indwelling, the Eucharist and other sacraments, and in a later draft through faith as well. Thus Philips clearly considered the Holy Spirit to have an important place in the Church, yet the focus was on Christ’s presence, not the presence of God Father, Son, Spirit. The draft that resulted from a meeting on January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1963, with Philips, Congar, Bishop De Smedt and Gustave Thils featured the same titles in the same order.<sup>417</sup>

The Schema Philips was not the only draft on the table of the Doctrinal Commission. In early February, when some of the more conservative members of the Commission got worried about the Coordinating Commission’s preference for the Schema Philips, Archbishop Pietro Parente, one of the members of the Doctrinal Commission,<sup>418</sup> was asked to draft a new schema.<sup>419</sup> Both the “*Synthesis doctrinae definitae*” that Parente opens with and the draft itself, entitled “*De Ecclesia Corpore Christi Mystico ac Lumine Gentium*”, testify that Parente’s theological framework was binitarian. The

---

<sup>415</sup> AS II/1, 553-559.

<sup>416</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 425, 2-4, similarly in no. 421, 4-6 and no. 433, 2-5.

<sup>417</sup> For the meeting see Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 91; Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 318. The result of the meeting was probably CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 554, which has at the top corner the note “Lovanii Jan. 1963”, cf. Archive Suenens, no. 956. The draft dated “20-2” still had the same article-titles, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 592.

<sup>418</sup> Parente (1891-1986), formerly archbishop of Perugia (1955-1959), was the secretary (*assessor*) of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. He was involved in various capacities in the preparation of the Council. During the Council, he was a member of the Doctrinal Commission as well as the Subcommission “Of Seven” charged with drafting a new Schema on the Church. Parente was part of the more traditionalist minority in that commission, although he advocated the sacramentality of the bishop. See G. Alberigo, Cl. Carl, “Parente, Pietro”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 205-206.

<sup>419</sup> See von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 197. The decision to ask Parente for this job taken on February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1963, cf. various meetings on this matter recorded by Tromp on February 8<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, 203, 205, 209, 211, 215. For the text, see Gil Hellin (ed.), *Synopsis Lumen Gentium*, 681-693.

synthesis made in its two pages only one reference to the Holy Spirit. Moreover, that reference was only made after the Father's creation, the Son's redemption, Mary, the apostles and the Church, and the sacraments have been addressed.<sup>420</sup> The first chapter, "De Ecclesiae Mystério", featured more references to the Spirit but maintained a binitarian structure. The brief discussion of creation and redemption in the opening article referred only to the Father and to the Son, and the following reflection on the people of God was highly christocentric, for it made only one reference to the Spirit that had however no relationship to the Church, namely that Christ offers himself "per Spiritum Sanctum" to the Father (cf. Schema 1, DE 2).<sup>421</sup>

Several other alternative schemata were incomplete. Isaac Ghattas, Coptic Catholic bishop of Luxor (Egypt), wrote only a chapter on "the episcopal hierarchy".<sup>422</sup> Various French bishops from the region of Paris, led by Cardinal Maurice Feltin, archbishop of Paris (France), limited themselves in their text proposal to the hierarchy too.<sup>423</sup>

Some drafts did however include the Holy Spirit, notably the Chilean text that arrived in Rome in early February.<sup>424</sup> The authors – possibly Jesuit father Juan Ochagavía, Salesian father Egidio Viganó and the Belgian priests Florent Hofmans and Joseph Comblin, who were all professors at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chili<sup>425</sup> – criticized Schema 1's overly juridical and hierarchy-centered approach. They claimed that this tendency had been "strengthened by a failing consideration of the theology of the Holy Spirit, the theology of the Eucharist, Mariology and the doctrine of human

---

<sup>420</sup> See "Synthesis Doctrinae definitae", Gil Hellín (ed.), *Synopsis Lumen Gentium*, 681-682. Cf. the fact that the single reference to the Spirit is made in a subclause: "Divina Revelatio, praeterquam interno Spiritus Sancti impulsu, etiam signis externis suffragatur, quibus Religionis christianae veritas demonstratur", *Synopsis Lumen Gentium*, 682.

<sup>421</sup> Gil Hellín (ed.), *Synopsis Lumen Gentium*, 683-684.

<sup>422</sup> Gil Hellín (ed.), *Synopsis Lumen Gentium*, 862-864, also *AS* II/1, 525-527.

<sup>423</sup> Gil Hellín (ed.), *Synopsis Lumen Gentium*, 865-867, also *AS* I/4, 405-407.

<sup>424</sup> The Schema was developed in December 1962 and January 1963 as an alternative to Schema 1, which was considered so lacking that improving it would not work. On February 15<sup>th</sup>, 1963, Tromp recorded that Ottaviani had received the Schema, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 215. Ottaviani answered the Chilean nonce on February 18<sup>th</sup>, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 219 and (for the letter) 1182. The text and its *annotationes* was published by Marcela Aranda and Sandra Arenas, M. Aranda, S. Arenas (eds.), *Ecclesiam Dei. Propuesta de Chile en el proceso de elaboración del Documento sobre la Iglesia del Concilio Vaticano II. Texto Original, Traducción, su Historia y sus Autores* (Santiago: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2014).

<sup>425</sup> While acknowledging that "no existe documentación que permita acreditar con total seguridad quiénes fueron los redactores de cada apartado", Aranda and Arenas make a case for Juan Ochagavía, Egidio Viganó, Florent Hofmans and Joseph Comblin. See Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 46 and 73-74. Ochagavía testified that the initiative for gathering theologians to discuss the prepared schemata came from Cardinal Silva Henríquez and that the group was functioning in August 1962, see *Propuesta de Chile*, 281-282. Yet Comblin claimed that the cardinal was a practical rather than intellectual and that the group was convoked by "don Manuel" (that is: Manuel Larraín Errázuriz, bishop of Talca (Chili)), see *Propuesta de Chile*, 299-30. It was Cardinal Silva Henríquez who sent the material to Rome in the name of fifteen Chilean bishops, see the copy of his letter in *Propuesta de Chile*, 65, cf. 286.

solidarity”.<sup>426</sup> Their alternative proposal included a first chapter on the mystery of the Church with three articles: “ad Patrem”, “In Filio” and “Per Spiritum Sanctum”,<sup>427</sup> so that the Schema expressed the belief that, “the Church consists in the return towards God of the reasonable creature”, as the authors had learned from Aquinas.<sup>428</sup>

The article on the Holy Spirit consisted in an enumeration of aspects of the Holy Spirit’s role in the Church, with manifold Scripture references. The Spirit was called soul of the Church and considered life-giving and life-restoring. Further the Spirit was understood amongst others as working in the world and in the Church, as giving fruits, and as praying for us. The text came with a Commentary with *notas generales* in which the authors explained that the Spirit’s work should be considered in its full breadth, as one-sided accounts would deform the Church.<sup>429</sup> Four such aspects were distinguished: reform of the Church, mission, charisms for the upbuilding of the Church, and eschatology.<sup>430</sup>

The text stood out for its ample attention to the Holy Spirit and for the active formulation of the Spirit’s involvement. When asked in a 2010 interview about the pneumatology of the Schema, Viganó, one of the authors of the text, explained that “God is Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and no one of the three is inactive”. He referred to Irenaeus’ explanation of the Son and the Spirit as the two hands of the Father and pointed to the contemporary theologians Congar, De Lubac, Rahner and von Balthasar as well as to his own teacher George Weigel, who was fascinated by Eastern theology.<sup>431</sup>

The Chilean proposal was a fundamental departure from recent magisterial pneumatology and ecclesiology in three ways.<sup>432</sup> Firstly, it provided ecclesiology with a trinitarian rather than christocentric framework, and one that was surprisingly specific on the Spirit’s work. Further, the list of the Spirit’s activities in the opening article challenged the hierarchical pneumatological monopoly by stating that all have received the Spirit for the upbuilding of the Church: “unicuique datur manifestationem Spiritus ad utilitatem”. Finally, the Chilean proposal challenged the *status quo* by

---

<sup>426</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 73.

<sup>427</sup> According to Viganó, whom Aranda and Arenas suggest to be the principal editor of the first chapter – Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 51 – the wish for an “Ecclesia de trinitate” was common to the group. Questioned by Aranda and Arenas on the origin of the schema, Viganó answered: “Nos preguntamos qué temas debían estar incluidos en el *De Ecclesia*. La Iglesia es de Dios, de la Trinidad, la Iglesia es Pueblo de Dios, ...”, *Propuesta de Chile*, 284.

<sup>428</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 77.

<sup>429</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 91, “Nota final. En la doctrina del Espíritu, lo más importante es ser completo. Accentuar exclusivamente tal o cual aspecto deforma la Iglesia. Lo mismo si se monospacia el Espíritu”.

<sup>430</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 90-91. In fact the text also spoke about two more aspects, namely access to the Father and life.

<sup>431</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 287-288.

<sup>432</sup> For the text, see Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 82-83.

adding that Spirit renews the Church: “Spiritus Sanctus per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam atque eam perpetuo renovat”.

The *Schema Chilensis* was not the only text with a trinitarian introduction. Already the first sketch for a German draft, dating from mid-December 1962, featured a trinitarian introduction. Its *prologus* contained three articles on “Dei Patris consilium”, “Consilii Patris per Filium exsecutio” and “Spiritus Sanctus – B. Maria Virgo – Ecclesia”.<sup>433</sup> In January and February 1963, the Schema was improved in various rounds.<sup>434</sup> It was sent to Rome on February 18<sup>th</sup>, and was presented at the Theological Commission three days later.<sup>435</sup>

However, the trinitarian approach was not self-evident, for subsequent versions did not maintain the trinitarian set-up. Wassilowsky explains: “Die starke Orientierung am Schema der Vorbereitungskommission hat zur Folge, daß das Deutsche Schema eine Zeit lang (in Fassung II und III) den *prologus* nur in zwei Artikeln plant”. Indeed, the third version, that features in the *synopsis historica*,<sup>436</sup> had a binitarian introduction.<sup>437</sup> After a *prooemium*, its *prologus* discussed the “Dei Patris consilium” and the “Consilii Patris per Filium exsecutio”. It then started with the first chapter, on the mystery of the Church, with as first heading “Novus Adam – novum genus humanum”, to continue with the Church as people of God, mystical body, and as a pilgrim.<sup>438</sup>

Yet in the final version, the writers of the German schema found their own voice. Rather than starting from sin and focusing on the Church and its ministers, as Schema 1 had done (cf. DE 1-2), they started from God’s wish to gather human beings into unity with himself and with one another. Moreover, rather than considering the Church in a binitarian framework, they adopted a trinitarian, salvation-historical view. The article on the Son was now entitled “Filius incarnatus principium unionis generis humani” and the article on the Spirit bore the title “Spiritus Sanctus principium Ecclesiae”.

---

<sup>433</sup> Wassilowsky, *Universales Heilssakrament Kirche*, 283, see also 311, footnote 60. According to Wassilowsky, this introduction was inspired by the Schema Philips (*Universales Heilssakrament Kirche*, 284), but that can only be said for the first two of the three articles; as we will see, it was only much later that Philips introduced an article on the Holy Spirit.

<sup>434</sup> See the chapter “Historische Rekonstruktion: Textgenese des Deutschen Schemas”, Wassilowsky, *Universales Heilssakrament Kirche*, 279-303. For the final version, see AS I/4, 601-639, also in Gil Hellín (ed.), *Synopsis Lumen Gentium*, 716-750. This final version was the fruit of the 5-6 February gathering in München, cf. AS I/4, 601-602 and Wassilowsky, *Universales Heilssakrament Kirche*, 291-297.

<sup>435</sup> See the “Relatio lecta ab Exc.mo. D. Schröffer in sessione plen. 21 Febr.”, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 773-776, cf. 223.

<sup>436</sup> Alberigo, Magistretti (eds.), *Synopsis historica*, 381-391.

<sup>437</sup> In this, it followed the second version, cf. the overview of tables of content in Wassilowsky, *Universales Heilssakrament Kirche*, 298.

<sup>438</sup> Alberigo, Magistretti (eds.), *Synopsis historica*, 381-383.



Finally, a short draft by the French Jesuit Jean Daniélou and others, based on Philips' text, gave considerable attention to the Holy Spirit, albeit not in the form of a trinitarian introduction.<sup>439</sup> After a short reference to the Father and his plan of salvation, the reflection started straight away with the Church, but then elaborated the topic both in relation to Christ and to the Spirit. The Church was said to have been "prepared through (*per*) the mission of the Word and the Holy Spirit", and the Church was said to grow "through (*per*) the actual working of the Word and the Spirit". Further, whilst the Spirit was said to dwell in the faithful and in the Church, Christ was considered the cornerstone.

### **Towards a Trinitarian Introduction**

Before continuing the story of the introduction of a Spirit-centered section, I need to recall that Philips and his text acquired new prominence in the final days of February 1963. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of that month, the Doctrinal Commission briefly discussed the various available drafts and then delegated further deliberation to the 'Commission of Seven' (see chapter 2.2). We know from diaries that this Subcommission immediately started to discuss the drafts in order to choose a new basis text. On February 22<sup>nd</sup>, the day Philips flew to Rome,<sup>440</sup> some members gathered informally to prepare that choice as well as a strategy to have that text accepted; they opted for the Philips text.<sup>441</sup> The diary kept by Tromp suggests the plan worked, for he noted that at the Subcommission's official gathering on the

---

<sup>439</sup> Daniélou (1905-1974) was professor for old-Christian literature and history at the Institut catholique in Paris, where he served as dean of the theological faculty during the Council. A Council *peritus*, he was also the advisor to Archbishop Garrone. See M. Quisinsky, "Daniélou, Jean", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 87-88. For the text, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 590; also in Alberigo, Magistretti (eds.), *Synopsis historica*, 425-428; and in Gil Hellín (ed.), *Synopsis Lumen Gentium*, 751-761, where it bears the title *Schema gallicum*. Gil Hellín also specifies that the text was made "a pluribus theologis Galliae" and sent to Rome by "a sexaginta fere Episcopis Commissioni", 751. It was discussed in the Doctrinal Commission on February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963, cf. von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 223. For the fact that it was based on Philips, cf. Daniélou's letter to Philips from late January, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 556.

<sup>440</sup> Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 92, "Même après cette invitation, j'ai eu encore des hésitations, mais me suis tout de même décidé (...) à partir pour Rome le vendredi (22, JM) février. Cette résolution réjouit surtout M. Moeller qui, à titre d'expert pour le Cardinal Léger, est parti pour Rome le mercredi 20 février".

<sup>441</sup> Charue's diary for the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February reads: "Dans la matinée, réunion chez le card. König: Garrone, Schröffer, Seper, Charue; les periti: Moeller, Daniélou, Rahner. On décide de prendre comme base de travail le schéma Philips". See Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 88. On February 24<sup>th</sup> there was another such meeting, cf. "Puis on reparle des schémas et on se met d'accord sur la façon de procéder", *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 89. Philips too spoke of a strategical gathering, see Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 92. Cf. Daniélou's letter Philips from late January in which he already spoke of the preference both of himself and the French bishops for Philips' text rather than the German one, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 556.

matter on February 26<sup>th</sup>, Philips' text received most votes.<sup>442</sup> After intense debate, the choice for Philips' text was confirmed in the Doctrinal Commission on March 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>443</sup> It is not insignificant to note that the Commission of Seven voted for a binitarian text, and that the Doctrinal Commission approved this vote.<sup>444</sup> The Subcommission decided to leave further work on the text to a group of experts, under the lead of Philips.<sup>445</sup>

By the time Philips got to work, soon after his arrival in Rome,<sup>446</sup> he had grown more aware of the importance of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Church. Handwritten corrections from February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1963, reveal that Philips was planning to introduce a new article on the Holy Spirit. On that day, he had scribbled in the margins on a copy of one of his drafts "Eccl. d. Trin<sup>e</sup>", which must mean "Ecclesia de Trinitate".<sup>447</sup> In addition, he had highlighted a sentence on the Holy Spirit, charisms and fruits; an added number in the margins suggested that it would become a new article.<sup>448</sup> However, Philips was not yet at Rome, so he cannot have presented this text.<sup>449</sup>

Philips had followed up on this plan and elaborated a new table of content that included a new article on "Temple (of the Holy Spirit, JM)", with as keywords "charismata and fruits; animates and leads".<sup>450</sup> This is the first time that the Schema Philips featured – or better, as we will shortly see: was to feature – an article on the Holy Spirit.

---

<sup>442</sup> Tromp records a brief first deliberation on February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963, in the evening (from 18.05 till 18.35) and a second one the next morning (at 10.00). He notes that after König had spoken in favor of Philips, "Léger and Garrone agree(d) with König". Charue said that "Parente's text is good, yet Philips' text is better", and Schröffer chose for Philips with some hesitation. See von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 255 and 257, cf. the minutes of the 26-2-1963 meeting, 888-893.

<sup>443</sup> Philips speaks of a very painful day for himself, Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 97. Cf. also Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 98-101 and *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 265, 267.

<sup>444</sup> As we will see in the next section, Philips was developing a more trinitarian text. However, he was not yet at Rome, so he cannot have presented this text. Cf. the fact that, on February 21<sup>st</sup>, Charue requested the Doctrinal Commission to consider the Schema by Philips "who will come in a few days", von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 229, "Exc.mus Charue rogat ut ratio habeatur Schematis facti a Mons. Philips, qui post aliquos dies veniet".

<sup>445</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 257 and 892-893. Cf. Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 93, "Mgr Charue me communique que je suis chargé de la présidence de ce groupe".

<sup>446</sup> Philips noted in his diary that, after his arrival in Rome on February the 22<sup>nd</sup>, he went to work on Monday and Tuesday the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of February, together with a group of "favorable experts"; this was before the first official "meeting of experts" on the afternoon of the 26<sup>th</sup>, when the Philips text won the vote in the Subcommission and Philips himself had been chosen as president. See Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 92-93.

<sup>447</sup> CSVII no. 592, article no. 6.

<sup>448</sup> CSVII no. 592, article no. 5. Cf. the number 6 in the margin and the fact that the existing number 6 is crossed out and replaced with a 7.

<sup>449</sup> Cf. footnote 436.

<sup>450</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 641. Philips added between sections 5 and 6 an article "5-6", the content of which he summarised as "Templum: charismata et fructus; animat et dirigit". The brief reference "Ecclesia de Trinitate" has no follow up.

This idea was probably inspired by Gustave Thils, fellow professor of Philips in Leuven and member of the Secretariat for Unity.<sup>451</sup> For interestingly, we have a note (without date) by Thils with a rather similar idea. Thils typed a table of content in Latin with comments in French. He clarified the new article “De Ecclesia, templo Spiritus Sancti” as follows: “Nouveau petit alinea, pour souligner le rôle et la place de l’Esprit dans l’Église: a) il habite l’Église b) il agit dans l’Église, (Cinq lignes) notamment par les «fruits», les «charismes» divers, etc.”.<sup>452</sup> Probably, these suggestions were part of the “série d’améliorations à la première élaboration de mon schéma latin” that De Smedt, Congar and Thils discussed with Philips, at Thils’ initiative, on January 13<sup>th</sup>. The fruit of the meeting was that Philips composed “une série de modifications” that probably resulted in Philips’ handwritten corrections on Trinity, Spirit and charisms.<sup>453</sup>

However, archive-research reveals that this plan was never materialized beyond a table of content and that it was soon replaced by another plan. For the next draft from February 27<sup>th</sup> had no article on the Church as temple of the Holy Spirit, but instead featured an article on the Holy Spirit as part of a trinitarian introduction.<sup>454</sup> This was probably inspired by another note, written by *peritus* Charles Moeller for the Canadian Cardinal Paul-Émile Léger, member of the Subcommission on the Church, dated February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963.<sup>455</sup> In that note Moeller pleaded for a more trinitarian conception of the text and especially for more attention to the mission of the Holy Spirit. He ended with the very specific advice that “especially attention should be given in this matter to the particular mission of the Holy Spirit which, time and again, in Western ecclesiology is left out, or treated almost accidentally. Here should be proposed some redaction inspired by the *Schema Chilensis*, especially for the part on the Holy Spirit”.<sup>456</sup>

---

<sup>451</sup> Thils (1909-2000), professor for fundamental theology and spirituality and a Council *peritus*, played an important role in the elaboration of *Lumen gentium*, *Unitatis redintegratio*, and *Gaudium et spes*, see A. Raffelt, “Thils, Gustave”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 270. For the meeting, see Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 92.

<sup>452</sup> CSVII, Archive De Smedt, no. 706. Full text, “Nouveau petit alinea, pour souligner le rôle et la place de l’Esprit dans l’Église: a) il habite l’Église b) il agit dans l’Église, (Cinq lignes) notamment par les «fruits», les «charismes» divers, etc.”.

<sup>453</sup> See Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 91. Philips sent these to Cardinal Suenens, who, as Philips complains, did not reply. Yet later Suenens invited Philips and Thils for a meeting, that took place on the 18<sup>th</sup> of February, Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 92. Was this meeting about these modifications?

<sup>454</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 595.

<sup>455</sup> Archbishop Léger (1904-1991), member of the Doctrinal Commission, played an important role in the elaboration of *Lumen gentium* and *Gaudium et spes*, see G. Routhier, “Léger, Paul-Émile”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 270. For the meeting, see Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 166-168.

<sup>456</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 593, 2. Cf. the full text in Latin, “Speciatim attendatur in hac materia ad missionem particularem Spiritus Sancti, quae saepe saepius, in ecclesiologia occidentali, omittitur, aut saltem accidentaliter tractatur. Hic proponeretur redactio aliqua inspirata a schemate Chilensi, speciatim pro parte de Spiritu Sancto”. The date is somewhat confusing, as the letter is also signed February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963, 2.

Albert Prignon, the rector of the Belgian College, seems to have been involved in promoting that schema as well, especially its trinitarian opening articles.<sup>457</sup> For on September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963, shortly after the opening of the Second Period, Prignon noted in his diary that Cardinal Silva Henríquez came to visit Suenens at the Belgian college to suggest to replace the current trinitarian opening articles with the richer, Chilean version. This made Prignon write the following confession, which confirms once again that a trinitarian rather than Christological approach to ecclesiology was in no way a given: “Je ne puis oublier que j’ai combattu pendant trois mois durant les commissions pour faire introduire le schéma trinitaire et que j’ai dû sur ce point vaincre la résistance de Mgr Charue lui-même (ce dernier insistait surtout sur l’aspect Christologique de l’Église). Les deux sont complémentaires (...). Mais le souci des Orientaux (entre autres) outre la vérité de la doctrine recommande le schéma trinitaire.”<sup>458</sup> That Prignon played a significant role indeed is confirmed by the later testimony of bishop Charue himself.<sup>459</sup>

The Philips archive contains two copies of a text dated February 27<sup>th</sup>, the day after his text had been chosen. This text, destined for discussion with the experts and the Subcommission,<sup>460</sup> contains a trinitarian introduction that shows substantial resemblance with the Chilean text, and that is also in various respects similar to the final text, LG 4. In his diary, Philips acknowledged his deliberate choice for a trinitarian text: “J’ai conçu le plan suivant: d’abord l’*Ecclesia de Trinitate*, c.-à-d. face au Père, au Fils et au Saint-Esprit. Ensuite les relations personnelles de l’Église et du Christ, avec l’idée du *Corpus (Christi, JM) Mystici* et les autres représentations scripturaires. Enfin l’Église sur terre et sa relation aux catholiques, aux autres chrétiens et à tous les hommes”.<sup>461</sup>

Together, these pieces of information contribute to reconstructing when, by whom and for what reasons LG 4 was introduced. It was introduced between February 21<sup>st</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>, 1963. A few Council fathers and experts who were concerned about the trinitarian and pneumatological deficiency

---

<sup>457</sup> Prignon (1919-2000) was familiar with several Belgian Council fathers and experts as he was their host as the Belgian College. He was a confidant of Cardinal Suenens, whose proposal to place the chapter on the people of God before that on the hierarchy was inspired by Prignon. From March 1963 Prignon was a Council *peritus* to the Doctrinal Commission; he worked especially on *Dei verbum* and *Gaudium et spes* but also on *De Ecclesia*. See L. Declerck, “Prignon, Albert”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 221-222; J. Grootaers, “De plain-pied au Concile. Albert Prignon, acteur et témoin à Vatican II”, *Revue théologique de Louvain* 33 (2002), 371-397.

<sup>458</sup> Fonds Prignon, no. 512.

<sup>459</sup> Charue, “Le Saint-Esprit dans «Lumen Gentium»”, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* 45 (1969), 363-364, cf. “Vers la fin de la première session, Mgr Prignon fit remarquer à ceux qui réfléchissaient sur la façon de rédiger un nouveau schéma sur l’Église, qu’il faudrait introduire, dès le début, tout un paragraphe sur le Saint-Esprit afin de donner la dimension pneumatologique à l’ecclésiologie et de rejoindre ainsi une des préoccupations majeures des Orientaux”; Charue’s memory is incorrect as to the date; this must be July 1963, see Grootaers, “Albert Prignon, acteur et témoin”, 386.

<sup>460</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 595 and no. 596, the second of which contains many corrections. On no. 595, it was noted (in the hand of Prignon) “Proposé par Mgr Philips à la sous-commission des Experts, puis à la sous-commission des 7 Pères”, and on no. 596 “Commissio Septem” (hand of Philips).

<sup>461</sup> Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 97.

of Schema 1 were involved. Yet the introduction cannot be claimed to originate in a broadly shared, trinitarian or pneumatological conciliar mind. For as we have seen, many other Council fathers and experts did not comment on the binitarian introduction. In addition, various alternative texts were binitarian. Moreover, voting for a new basis for the new draft (Schema 2), the Doctrinal Commission opted for a binitarian text.

### 5.3 The Pneumatological Development of *Lumen Gentium* 4 as a Whole

In the previous section I have explored how the Council came to include a Spirit-centered reflection in its opening articles. I will now delve into the development of the content of the text. Leaving an in-depth investigation of the details of each sentence to the next section (6.4), I first focus on the developments of LG 4 as a whole (6.3). What happened in the period between the Chilean draft and *Lumen gentium*? Who were involved in the development of LG 4's pneumatology? And what were their motives? And finally, what does that say about the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium*? Once again, I will follow the chronology.

#### From the *Schema Chilensis* to the February Philips Schema<sup>462</sup>

In a first phase, Philips integrated the Chilean article on the Spirit into his own draft.<sup>463</sup> In doing so, he copied extensively from the Chilean schema yet substantially edited the text. Moreover, he also used another source. Figure six below compares the Chilean text and Philips' 27-2 draft, that I will call henceforth the February Philips Schema. Phrases rendered in bold are common to both drafts, underlined phrases were added by Philips and phrases in italics were moved to a different place in the text. The numbers in the February Philips Schema refer to the set-up of the final version of LG 4.

Chilean Schema	February Philips Schema
3. (Per Spiritum Sanctum)	3. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante
Anima Ecclesiae est Spiritus Sanctus (S. Thomas, Expos. in Symb., 9: «Anima autem quod hoc corpus vivificat, est Spiritus Sanctus». Cf. S. Tromp, De Spiritu Sancto anima corporis mystici, 2t, Roma, 1932).	(1) <u>Opere autem consummato quod Pater Christo dedit in terra faciendum (cfr Jo., XVII, 4),</u>
<b>Misit enim Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (Gal. 4,6), ut in eo accessum haberemus ad Patrem (Eph. 2,18).</b>	<b>misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cfr Gal., 4 IV, 6), in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cfr Eph., 2 II, 18).</b>

<sup>462</sup> For this schema, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 595 and no. 596, the second of which contains many handwritten corrections.

<sup>463</sup> In this section, Philips means: Philips and his team.

<p><b>Ipse est Spiritus vitae</b> (Apoc. 11,11. Cfr. Gen. 2,7; Ez. 37,5,10) novae creationis, <b>aqua viva saliens in vitam aeternam (Joh. 4,14)</b>, quae <b>mortuos peccato resuscitat cum Christo (Rom. 8,10s)</b>.</p> <p>Ipse est de quo dixerunt Prophetae: «Et dabo vobis cor novum et spiritum novum ponam in medio vestri; et auferam cor lapideum de carne vestra et dabo vobis cor carneum. Et Spiritum meum ponam in medio vestri; et faciam ut in praeceptis meis ambuletis et iudicia mea custodiatis et operemini» (Ez. 36,26s.; II Cor. 3,3), atque «hoc erit pactum quod feriam cum domo Israel post dies illos dicit Dominus: Dabo legem meam in visceribus eorum, et in corde eorum scribam eam, et ero eis in Deum et ipsi erunt mihi in populum» (Jer. 31,33; Heb. 10,16).</p> <p><b>Spiritus Sanctus per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam (S.Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24,1 (Sagnard, p.398)) atque eam perpetuo renovat (Eph. 4,23).</b> Nam lex spiritus vitae in Christo Iesu liberavit eam a lege peccati et mortis (Rom. 8,2). Sed caro concupiscit adversus Spiritum: spiritus autem adversus carnem (Gal. 5,17). Qui autem sunt Christi carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis. Qui autem Spiritu vivunt, Spiritu et ambulant (Gal. 5,24ss) et faciunt fructus Spiritus qui sunt: charitas, gaudium, pax, modestia, continentia, castitas (Gal. 5, 22).</p> <p><b>Sed Spiritus replevit orbem terrarum (Sap. 1,7) et mittit Ecclesiam (Joh. 20,21-23; Act. 1,8) prophetare gentibus et populis et linguis et regibus (Apoc. 10,11), sicut significavit in die Pentecostes</b> (Cf. L. Cerfaux, Le Symbolisme attaché au miracle des langues <i>etc.</i>) baptismo spiritus (Act. 1,5) quem acceperunt Apostoli. Spiritus Sanctus virtutem dat Ecclesiae (Act. 1,8; 3,12; 4,7,33; 6, 8, 8, (sic, JM) 10; 10,38) ut praedicet Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum (I Cor. 2,2), et cum fiducia (Act. 2,29; 4,13,29,31; 28,31) testimonium reddat (Act. 1,8,22; 2,32; 3,15 <i>etc.</i>) coram hominibus. Idem Spiritus impellit apostolos ut longius procedant (Act. 8,29,39; 10,19; 11,12; 13,2,4; 16,6s) usque ad ultimum terrae (Act. 1,8). Fides autem quae oritur ex auditu (Gal. 3,2), non est in sapientia hominum sed in virtute Dei (I Cor. 2,4s), non in sermone tantum sed et in Spiritu Sancto (I Thess. 1,5), qui excipere facit verbum (I Thess. 1,6). Sic ex virtute Spiritus (Gal. 3,2) omnes verbo et baptismo (I Cor. 12,13) recipiunt eundem Spiritum (Gal. 3,14).</p> <p>Sicut anima Spiritus Sanctus unitatem facit corporis Christi (S.Petr.Chrys.: <i>etc.</i> S.Petr.Damian. <i>etc.</i>). Ex eodem enim Spiritu procedunt diversitas et unitas charismatum et ministeriorum. Divisiones gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus (I Cor. 12,5). Unicuique datur manifestationem Spiritus ad utilitatem. Haec omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult sed ordinans omnia (I Cor. 12,7,11) in aedificationem unius corporis (I Cor. 12,12-13; Eph. 2,18; 4,12). Monet autem Apostolus: solliciti sitis servare unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis cum omni humilitate et mansuetudine cum patientia supportantes invicem in charitate (Eph. 4,2s).</p>	<p><b>(2) Ipse est Spiritus vitae seu aqua viva saliens in vitam aeternam (cfr Joh. 4 IV, 14), qui homines peccato mortuos eam in Christo resuscitat (cfr Rom. 8, 10 ss.).</b></p> <p>(2bis) <b>Spiritus ille replevit orbem terrarum et misit Apostolos prophetare gentibus et populis et linguis et regibus (cfr Act. 1, 8; Apoc. 40 X, 11), sicut die Pentecostis dispersit linguis igneis significavit (Act. II, 3).</b></p> <p>(3) <b>In fidelibus et in Ecclesia tamquam in templo habitat, ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu (cfr Eph., II, 20).</b></p> <p>(4) <b>Ecclesiam diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal., V, 22), eam vivificando et unificando, ita ut iure a Patribus principium vitae seu anima Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.</b></p>
--	--

<p><b>Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia</b> (S. Irenaeus, Adv.Haer., III, 24,2 (Sagnard, 400), illic etiam pignus hereditatis nostrae futurae (Eph. 1,14).  Spe enim salvi sumus et per patientiam expectamus (Rom. 8,24s).  Omnis creatura ingemiscit et parit usque adhuc. Non solum autem illa sed et nos ipsi qui primitias Spiritus habemus, et ipsi intra nos gemimus adoptionem filiorum Dei expectantes (Rom. 8,22s) Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus (Rom. 8,26).  <b>Nam Spiritus et sponsa dicunt: Veni, Domine Iesu!</b> (Apoc. 22,17,20).</p>	<p>(5) <i>Ipse per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat</i> (S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24, 1).  <b>Ubi Ecclesia ibi, et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia</b> (Ib., III, 24, 2). <u>Ecclesiam in itinere suo terrestri, mediis in tribulationibus, propagatione et sanctitate crescere facit, et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem adspirantem perducit.</u>    (6) <b>Nam Spiritus et Sponsa dicunt: «Veni, Domine Iesu»</b> (cfr Apoc., 22 XXII, 17 et 20).  (7) <u>Sicque apparet universa Ecclesia ut «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata»</u> (S. Cyprianus, Orat. Dom., 23).</p>
--	---

**Figure 6.** The development from the Chilean schema to the February Philips Schema. Bold: texts in common. Underlined: new. Italics: order changed. Sentences numbered according to LG 4.

Figure six shows both to what extent Philips relied on the Chilean schema and to what extent he edited the text. In the first place, as the text fragments in bold show, Philips copied in five cases (almost) exact phrasings from the Chilean schema: sentence 1 (“*Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra*” and “*accessum ad Patrem*”), sentence 2 (“*Ipse est Spiritus vitae*”, “*saliens in vitam aeternam*”), sentence 2bis on Pentecost and apostles, and sentences 5 and 6. Moreover, in copying phrases, Philips also copied topics. Half of the topics of the Schema Philips come from the *Schema Chilensis*: the Spirit’s mission into our hearts, in view of access to the Father (sentence 1); the Spirit of life and resurrection (sentence 2); the Spirit fulfilling the earth and sending to prophesize (sentence 2bis); the Spirit and the renewal of the Church (sentence 5); the Spirit speaking “Come, Lord Jesus” (sentence 6). In addition, the Chilean text functioned as the source for most Scripture references and for the Irenaeus quotes on the Spirit and the Church and on rejuvenating.

Secondly, figure six reveals that Philips depended on the Chileans not only for text fragments, topics and quotations, but also for its pneumatological style. Philips did not follow the German schema, with its focus on unity and salvation history, but rather the Chilean schema’s approach of listing various activities of the Spirit, mainly in main clauses and in an active form. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Philips thus opted for a pneumatology that is unique in *Lumen gentium*. We will shortly see that the unique pneumatological style was also noticed by some members of the Doctrinal Commission and by some Council fathers, and that it led to intense and repeated questions.

However, Philips did not simply copy the Chilean text, he also did substantial editorial work. Firstly, he shortened the text. Both the *Schema Chilensis* and Philips talked about a “Spirit of life” (sentence 2), yet whilst the former continued the reflection with two substantial quotes from the prophet Ezechiel, Philips started with another topic. In addition, both texts speak about the Spirit who fulfils the earth, Pentecost and the apostles, yet while the Chilean Schema continued the reflection for

four sentences packed with Scripture references, Philips did not do so (sentence 2bis). The development of the quote from Irenaeus on the Spirit's rejuvenating (sentence 5) is another example. Philips joined the text with the other Irenaeus quote and left out the article in which the Spirit's rejuvenating was explained as a spiritual battle.

Philips also improved the text, amongst others by smoothening the transition from the previous articles by means of an opening phrase on the Father and the Son that the *Schema Chilensis* did not have (sentence 1). He also edited that sentence by replacing *in eo* with the less ambiguous *in quo uno Spiritu*. Moreover, Philips rearranged the text, e.g. by placing the two Irenaeus-quotes together (sentence 5). Further he added another conclusive sentence to recall the trinitarian framework (sentence 7), thereby strengthening the unity of articles DE 2-4. Probably it was in order to improve the flow of the reflection too that Philips moved the sentence on the hierarchy to the front, so that it followed immediately after the two opening propositions on Spirit as giving access to the Father and on the Spirit of life. This move suggests a certain priority of the hierarchy, as was common at the time.

Finally, Philips altered the working title of the schema and thereby placed the reflection in another framework. Whilst the Chileans conceived this article as part of a return to the Father – towards (*ad*) the Father, in the Son, through (*per*) the Spirit – Philips' heading focused on the Spirit's work in salvation history: "on the Spirit who sanctifies the Church". Nonetheless, Philips maintained the phrase on access to the Father, which was typically part of the Chilean logic.

Yet archival research reveals that the February Philips draft not only owes to the Chilean schema and to its reception by Philips but that it also used material from a second source, namely material of Philips himself. The phrase on indwelling (sentence 3) stems from the first Philips draft.<sup>464</sup> The phrases on charisms and fruits (sentence 4) and the Church on her earthly pilgrimage (sentence 5, second half) also had their origin in a pneumatological awareness of Philips and his collaborators predating the conciliar pneumatological impulses; a document with suggestions by a group of theologians from November 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962, already contained these phrases.<sup>465</sup> Finally, the quote from Cyprian of Carthage (sentence 7) dates from Philips' draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1963.<sup>466</sup> The details of the latter contention will be dealt with below (see chapter 5.4). For now it is sufficient to know that, redaction-historically, LG 4 depends on the Chilean schema, on its reception, and on another source.

Thus what happened? Philips maintained characteristics that are typical for the Chilean pneumatology, while at the same time making the text both shorter and smoother. In addition, he enriched it with phrases from another source. Probably especially Philips and his team were involved in these changes. Their motives were probably especially conciliar and editorial: they wanted to use the material that was available – which means that the Council fathers were involved as well – yet they shortened and improved that material.

<sup>464</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 421, 5, article 4 (indwelling).

<sup>465</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 544, 1-2, sections 5-6. For the meeting, see Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 262.

<sup>466</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 592, 3-5, sections 4 (indwelling), 5 (charisms) and 6 (earthly pilgrimage, Cyprian).



## From the February Philips Schema to the March Philips Schema<sup>467</sup>

With the discussion on the first chapter of the new Schema on the Church by the *periti* and the whole Subcommission on February 28<sup>th</sup>, a second phase started.<sup>468</sup> The very next day Philips processed the notes he had taken during these meetings, and immediately sent the result to the Doctrinal Commission; that draft, dated March 1<sup>st</sup>, will be called the March Philips Schema. Figure seven on the next page gives an overview of the development from the February Philips Schema to the March Philips Schema. What is crossed out was deleted, what is underlined was added and phrases in italics were moved to a different place in the text.

February Philips Schema	March Philips Schema
<p>3. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante</p> <p>(1) Opere autem consummato quod Pater Christo dedit in terra faciendum (cfr Jo., XVII, 4), misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cfr Gal., IV, 6), in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cfr Eph., II, 18).</p> <p>(2) Ipse est Spiritus vitae seu aqua viva saliens in vitam aeternam (cfr Jo., IV, 14), qui homines peccato mortuos in Christo resuscitat (cfr Rom., VIII, 10 ss.).</p> <p>(2bis) Spiritus ille replevit orbem terrarum et misit Apostolos prophetare gentibus et populis et regibus (cfr Act., I, 8; Apoc., X, 11), sicut die Pentecostis dispersit linguas igneis significavit (Act., II, 3).</p> <p>(3) In fidelibus et in Ecclesia tamquam in templo habitat, ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu (cfr Eph., II, 20).</p> <p>(4) Ecclesiam diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal., V, 22), eam vivificando et unificando, ita ut iure a Patribus principium vitae seu anima Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.</p> <p>(5) Ipse per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat (S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24, 1).</p> <p>(5bis) Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia (Ib., III, 24, 2).</p>	<p>3. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante</p> <p>(1) Opere autem consummato quod Pater Christo dedit in terra faciendum (cfr Jo.; XVII, 4), misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cfr Gal.; IV, 6), in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cfr Eph.; II, 18).</p> <p>(2) Ipse est Spiritus vitae seu aqua <del>viva</del> saliens in vitam aeternam (cfr Jo.; IV, 14), qui homines peccato mortuos in Christo resuscitat (cfr Rom.; VIII, 10 ss.).</p> <p><del>(2bis) Spiritus ille replevit orbem terrarum et misit Apostolos prophetare gentibus et populis et regibus (cfr Act., I, 8; Apoc. X, 11), sicut die Pentecostis dispersit linguas igneis significavit (Act., II, 3).</del></p> <p>(3) In fidelibus et in Ecclesia tamquam in templo habitat, <u>Ipso operante</u>, ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu (cfr Eph.; II, 20).</p> <p>(4) Ecclesiam diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal.; V, 22), eam vivificando et unificando, ita ut <del>iure a Patribus</del> principium vitae seu anima Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.</p> <p>(5) <i>Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia (S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24, 2). Ipse per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat (Ib., III, 24, 1),</i></p>

<sup>467</sup> For the text, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 597, signed “1/3/1963” on the last page; cf. the handwritten corrections on no. 596, that have been processed in no. 597. For the dates, see also Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 97. The next *periti*-meeting on March 2<sup>nd</sup> was about the second chapter, cf. Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 330-334.

<sup>468</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 259, “Vespere hora 4½ sessio peritorum de Ecclesia. Deinde hora 6,30-8,15 sessio communis peritorum cum 7 Emis et Exc.mis membris (that is, the cardinals and bishops of the Subcommission, JM)”. Cf. also Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 92-93. Cf. the handwritten date and comments on CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 595 and no. 596.

(5ter) Ecclesiam in itinere suo terrestri, mediis in tribulationibus, propagatione et sanctitate crescere facit, et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem adspirantem perducit.	<del>(5ter) Ecclesiam in itinere suo terrestri, mediis in tribulationibus, propagatione et sanctitate crescere facit, et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem adspirantem perducit.</del>
(6) Nam Spiritus et Sponsa dicunt: «Veni, Domine Iesu» (cfr Apoc., XXII, 17 et 20).	(6) Nam Spiritus et Sponsa dicunt: «Veni, Domine Iesu» (cfr Apoc., XXII, 17 et 20).
(7) Sicque apparet universa Ecclesia ut «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata» (S. Cyprianus, Orat. Dom., 23).	(7) Sicque apparet universa Ecclesia ut «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata» (S. Cyprianus, Orat. Dom., 23).

**Figure 7.** The development from the February Philips Schema to the March Philips Schema. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new. Italics: order changed.

Figure seven shows that most of the text was preserved and that, in so far as the text was changed, it was shortened. Sentences 2bis on the Spirit fulfilling the earth and the apostles was deleted, and that happened too with the short “iure a Patribus” phrase in sentence 4 and sentence 5ter on the Church’s growth in size and holiness. Further the editorial work consisted in adding “Ipso operante” (sentence 4) and re-arranging sentence 5.

Thus the text remained largely the same, with some changes. Who were involved, and what were there motives? It is obvious that at this stage not only Philips and his team played a role but as I did not see the minutes of the meeting of the *periti* and the Subcommission, it is not clear who exactly played a role, and what the motives were. In the case of sentence 5ter, one could argue that phrase 5 and 5ter overlapped more or less, so that one of the two phrases could be deleted for editorial reasons. In the case of the phrase on Pentecost the motive is less clear: did the authors of the text want to avoid the hierarchy-centered interpretation of Pentecost?

### From the March Philips Schema to Schema 2<sup>469</sup>

During the third phase, the text was discussed in the full Doctrinal Commission and the Coordinating Commission before it was sent out to the Council fathers (Schema 2). On March 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, 1963, the March Philips Schema was discussed in the fourth and fifth so-called “Sessio plenaria” (session with the whole commission) of the Doctrinal Commission. After revisions, the text went to the Coordinating Commission on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March; that Commission made minor changes.<sup>470</sup> Philips worked hard to prepare the text and the explanatory commentary on it, together with Moeller, Thils

<sup>469</sup> For the text, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 598 and no. 599; both texts have the 1-3 Schema (=no. 597) with many corrections. Cf. the note added to no. 599, “Exemplar post discussionem publicam correctum 7-3-1963”. The article on the Spirit in no. 599 (corrections included) is almost identical to Schema 2, AS II/1, 217.

<sup>470</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 331 and 333. The text was presented by Suenens. Comparing the 7-3-1963 text (CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 599) with Schema 2 in AS II/1 reveals that – as was to be expected – little changed. For example, “cfr” was replaced with “cf”, and “Jo. XVII” became “Jo. 17”.

and Cerfaux.<sup>471</sup> Tromp received Philips' notes on April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963, after which the package was sent out to the Council fathers.<sup>472</sup> Figure eight on the next page gives an overview of the changes between the March Schema and the official Schema 2. What is crossed out was deleted, what is underlined was added and phrases in italics were moved to a different place in the text.

March Philips Schema	Schema 2
<p>3. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante</p> <p>(1) Opere autem consummato quod Pater Christo dedit in terra faciendum (cfr Jo. XVII, 4), misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cfr Gal. IV, 6), in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cfr Eph. II, 18).</p> <p>(2) Ipse est Spiritus vitae seu aqua saliens in vitam aeternam (cfr Jo. IV, 14), qui homines peccato mortuos in Christo resuscitat (cfr Rom. VIII, 10 ss.).</p> <p>(3) In fidelibus et in Ecclesia tamquam in templo habitat, Ipso operante, ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu (cfr Eph. II, 20).</p> <p>(4) Ecclesiam diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal. V, 22), eam vivificando et unificando, ita ut principium vitae seu anima Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.</p> <p>(5) Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia (S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24, 2). Ipse per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat (Ib., III, 24, 1), et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem adspirantem perducit.</p> <p>(6) Nam Spiritus et Sponsa dicunt: «Veni, Domine Iesu» (cfr Apoc. XXII, 17 et 20).</p> <p>(7) Sicque apparet universa Ecclesia ut «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata» (S. Cyprianus, Orat. Dom., 23).</p>	<p>4. [De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante]</p> <p>(1) Opere autem consummato, quod Pater Christo commisit in terra faciendum (cfr Jo. <del>XVII</del><u>17</u>, 4), misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cfr Gal. <del>IV</del><u>4</u>, 6), in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cfr Eph. <del>II</del><u>2</u>, 18).</p> <p>(2) Ipse est Spiritus vitae seu aqua saliens in vitam aeternam (cfr Jo. <del>IV</del><u>4</u>, 14), <del>qui per quem Pater</del> homines peccato mortuos in Christo resuscitat (cf Rom. <del>VII</del><u>8</u>, 10 ss.).</p> <p>(3+4) In fidelibus et in Ecclesia tamquam in templo habitat (<u>cf. 1 Cor. 3, 16; 6, 19; Eph. 2, 22; 1 Pt. 2, 5</u>), <del>Ipso operante, ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu (cfr Eph. II, 20);</del> Ecclesiam diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cfr. <u>1 Cor. 12, 4; Gal. 5, 22</u>), <del>eam vivificando et unificando, ita ut principium vitae seu anima Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.</del></p> <p>(5) Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; <del>et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia (S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24, 2).</del> Ipse, <u>qui</u> per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat,<sup>6</sup> et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem <del>adspirantem</del> perducit.</p> <p>(6) Nam Spiritus et Sponsa <u>ad Dominum Iesum</u> dicunt: «Veni, <del>Domine Iesu</del>» (cfr Apoc. <del>XXII</del><u>22</u>, 17 <del>et 20</del>).</p> <p>(7) Sic<u>que</u> apparet universa Ecclesia <u>sicuti</u> «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata».<sup>7</sup></p> <p>(6) S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III, 24, 1: PG 7, 966: ed. Sagnard, p. 398: «Quam (praedicationem) perceptam ab Ecclesia custodimus, et quae semper a Spiritu Dei quasi in vaso bono eximium quoddam dispositum (depositum) iuvenescens et iuvenescere faciens ipsum vas in quo est ... Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Ecclesia et omnis gratia».</p>

<sup>471</sup> Cf. Philips' diary: "Je dois ajouter chez moi un commentaire court et explicatif au texte, et compléter sensiblement les annotations. Cela demande des recherches importantes et précises. Moeller et Thils me rendent à cet égard des grands services", Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 104. Philips noted also that he looked into the Scripture references together with Cerfaux.

<sup>472</sup> For Tromp receiving the text, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 341. The first part contained the first two chapters, entitled "On the mystery of the Church" and "On the hierarchical constitution of the Church and in particular: on the Episcopate", AS II/1, 215-255; the date of 22-4 is at 215. The third and fourth chapter, entitled "On the people of God and especially on the laity" and "On the calling to holiness in the Church", were sent out later, on July 19<sup>th</sup>.

	<p>(7) <i>S. Cyprianus, De Orat. Dom. 23: PL 4, 553: CSEL 3 A, p. 285; cf. S. Augustinus, Serm 71, 20, 33: PL 38, 463 s.: «Societas unitatis Ecclesiae Dei, extra quam non fit remissio peccatorum, tanquam proprium est opus Spiritus Sancti, Patre sane et Filio cooperantibus, quia societas est quodammodo Patris et Filii ipse Spiritus Sanctus»; S. Ioannes Damascenus, Adv. Iconocl. 12: PG 96, 1358 D: «Credimus igitur in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Dei Ecclesiam, in qua per institutionem erudimur. Congnoscimus quoque Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et baptizamur in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti»; cf. Fulgentius Rusp., Ad Monim. 2, 11: PL 65, 190 s; S. Cyrillus Hier., Catech. 5 append.: PG 33, 535-536.</i></p>
--	---

**Figure 8.** The development from the 1-3 Schema to Schema 2. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new. Italics: order changed.

Figure eight reveals that Schema 2 maintained the structure of the earlier schema as well as most of its content, and that once again, the text was shortened. The phrase on Christ the cornerstone and the hierarchy in sentence 3 disappeared, so that the text featured no reference to the hierarchy any more. The phrase on the Spirit as soul of the Church at the end of sentence 4 suffered the same fate, as did half of the Irenaean quote on the mutual relationship between the Spirit and the Church in sentence 5.

Further, the text was edited. The very short sentences 3 and 4 were combined into one sentence and the two phrases in sentence 5 were made into one sentence too. Finally, the editing included details such as “cf.” instead of “cfr”, and Arab numbers instead of Latin numbers, that is, Io. 17, 4 instead of Io. XVII, 4. Another type of editing had to do with Scripture and with accurately quoting. Four Scripture references were added to sentence 3 and one to sentence 4. In addition the Scripture quote in sentence 6 was corrected by placing “ad Dominum” outside of the quotation marks and by deleting the reference to verse 20. Finally, the very brief references to Irenaeus and Cyprian were developed into rather detailed footnotes.

The fact that at this stage the general outline of the text was maintained is less self-evident than it may seem, for the discussions in the Doctrinal Commissions on precisely that had been intense. The Commission quarrelled not only about the legitimacy of this new Schema and the use of the theological concept of sacrament, it also argued about the trinitarian and pneumatological presuppositions of LG 2-4.<sup>473</sup> As these presuppositions are intimately linked to the pneumatological style of the schema and to what I identified as LG 4’s unique pneumatology (chapter 3.3), I will discuss this issue in some detail.

During the Doctrinal Commission’s discussion, various Council fathers spoke out. In a note, Cardinal Ruffini – who was not a member of the Doctrinal Commission – commented that the Church was not “from the Trinity” (*de Trinitate*), as Philips had stated in an introductory note, but “of the

<sup>473</sup> Cf. the lively report by Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 338-343, as well as Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 98-101, and von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 263-273; for a summary of the discussion, see *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 671-674.

Trinity” (*Trinitatis*). Moreover, because of the axiom that the Trinity’s work *ad extra* is one, he was unhappy with the fact that the discussion of the divine involvement was divided over three distinct articles: “moreover I seriously doubt if in a dogmatic draft it is fitting to distribute over three distinct articles amongst the three persons the Trinity’s single actio ad extra, which belongst in fact to the whole Trinity. Indeed Sacred Theology acknowledges (the notion of) appropriation”.<sup>474</sup> Archbishop Parente spoke in similar terms. As Congar noted in his diary: “No.1 et sq.: Parente: on parle du rapport de l’Église aux Trois Personnes comme si elles étaient propres, alors qu’elles sont communes”.<sup>475</sup> Marie-Rosaire Gagnebet added that “the whole structure of numbers 1, 2, 3 is wrong; one should proceed from the mission of the Son”. The German Council *peritus* Heribert Schaaf added that “what Schrader said on the Trinity in respect of the Church more than hundred years ago is much better than what is stated in the new schema”.<sup>476</sup> Finally, in a friendly note in which he thanked Philips “for this beautiful text and the enormous work”, Gabriel-Marie Garrone, archbishop of Toulouse (France), called the trinitarian articles artificial: “Il n’est pas douteux que la «division du travail» entre les trois Personnes ne laisse une impression d’artifice, qu’il me semble facile de dissiper en mettant au centre la mission du Verbe Incarné rédempteur, comme on le proposait hier”.<sup>477</sup> According to Tromp’s diary,

---

<sup>474</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 613, 3, cf. the Latin text, “Praeterea graviter dubio an sit opportunum in Schemate dogmatico tribus distinctis capitibus distribuere inter tres personas SS. Trinitatis unicam actionem ad extra, quae re ad totam Trinitatem pertinet! Profecto in Sacra Theologia agnoscitur appropriatio ....”. Ruffini’s contribution is briefly mentioned in von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 269. Charue wonders what Ruffini’s note is doing: “Et on nous lit une lettre du card. Ruffini (...)! Qu’est-ce que cela vient faire? Pourquoi cette intervention, car il n’est pas de la commission *de fide*?”, Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 99.

<sup>475</sup> Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 341. Also in Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 98-99. Cf. von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 269, and Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 101. Charue and Philips also noted the “simple” answer to Parente’s comment, for did not the Creed speak about God the Father, Creator? In the Commission of Seven, Parente was one of the two members who had not been in favour of the Schema Philips on the 26<sup>th</sup> of February; this had no relation with the trinitarian introduction that was only introduced in the text afterwards, but rather with the schema’s less traditionalist approach.

<sup>476</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 273. Schaaf (1910-1988), Council *peritus* and pupil of Tromp as well as collaborating with him, had written amongst others on the development of catechisms. He referred to Clemens Schrader (1820-1875), a German Jesuit who taught in Rome and Vienna, and who Schaaf knew well as he had edited his works. See H.-J. Reudenbach, “Schaaf, Heribert”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 239. Schaaf’s intervention as recorded in CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 951, is considerably more moderate and less radical than Tromp’s minutes suggest, cf. the opening line “Placet expositio qua Ecclesiae relatio ad Personas SS. Trinitatis edocetur”.

<sup>477</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 623, note without date. Garrone (1901-1994) was a member of various Commissions, amongst others the Doctrinal Commission and the ‘Commission of Seven’, see A. Duval, A. Raffelt, “Garrone, Gabriel-Marie”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 114-115.

the Dominican Francisco Barbado Viejo, bishop of Salamanca (Spain), and Georges-Léon Pelletier, bishop of Trois-Rivières (Canada), spoke as well.<sup>478</sup>

These discussions shed further light on what was going on. Apparently, the issue was not the trinitarian nature of theology and ecclesiology, but this specific type of trinitarian theology. The members of the Doctrinal Commission who criticised the text wanted a trinitarian theology too, but one with a less prominent role of the Holy Spirit, so as not harm the *ad extra* rule.

Those who were critical of the pneumatological style could have referred to the German schemas, which was rather unspecific on the Spirit's active contribution, so that, from the point of view of appropriation, that draft was a much safer option. In its subtitle, the German Schema qualified the Spirit as principle, thereby situating the Spirit's contribution on a fundamental yet also abstract level. Indeed, nowhere in the text did the *Schema Germanicum* credit the Spirit with an activity. For example, it linked the anointing of Christ to the Father, who "has anointed (Him, JM) with the Holy Spirit", and Christ was said to pour out the Spirit (*eum*) over the apostles; both propositions typically do not articulate an active involvement of the Spirit.<sup>479</sup>

The observation that the issue was not trinitarian theology as such, but this specific type of trinitarian theology, is confirmed by looking back at Schema 1. For when Ottaviani introduced that text in May 1962 to the Central Preparatory Commission, he had explained that "the starting point (for developing chapter one, JM) should be the most-holy Trinity itself", even though at this point the text featured a binitarian introduction similar to the one in Schema 1.<sup>480</sup> Apparently, a trinitarian starting point could be combined with a focus on Father and Son, and did not automatically lead to discussing Father, Son and Spirit equally.

Surprisingly, the discussion on appropriation had no consequence whatsoever. Keeping his calm and cool amidst the turmoil,<sup>481</sup> Philips responded the critical commission members saying that he would look into Schrader, with the reservation that "all constructions have their pros and cons".<sup>482</sup>

---

<sup>478</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 269 (on March 5<sup>th</sup>), "Relate ad n.3 de Sp. Sto (Spiritu Sancto) leguntur obiectiones Ruffini et loquuntur Pelletier, Garrone, Barbado".

<sup>479</sup> Further, Christ was said to announce the Kingdom "through/with the power of this same Spirit (*virtute huius Spiritus*)" and the ecclesial unity was not described as a fruit of the Spirit's unifying work but as a unity "in the Spirit". Cf. the French schema by Daniélou, which stated amongst others that the Church was prepared "through (*per*) the mission of the Word and the Holy Spirit" and that it grew through their "operation".

<sup>480</sup> *ADP*, vol. II/3, 995, "Post multas discussiones decisum fuit ut in capite primo de natura ipsius Ecclesiae (claritatis causa addidimus *militantis*), secundum varia desideria expressa. 1. Initium sumeretur ab ipsa SS. Trinitate; deinde: 2. ...".

<sup>481</sup> Philips himself noted, "Je ne suis pas du tout excité, mais sûr de moi et calme, ce qui apaise (*Dat werkt «beruhigend»*)", Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 99, cf. 22. Congar observed on March 6<sup>th</sup>: "Mgr Philips se défend, concède, promet de tenir compte, enfin arrive à relancer la lecture et l'examen, de façon à lire au moins tout le texte du 1<sup>er</sup> chapitre", Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 343.

<sup>482</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 273, "Respondet Mgr Philips rationem habituram iri de doctrina Schrader; respondet Patri Gagnebet omnem constructionem habere suum pro et suum contra" (underlined Tromp, JM). Cf. Philips' frustration, Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 98-99.

This was a diplomatic answer, as it avoided the contentious issue, appropriation. If Philips fulfilled his promise to consult Schrader, it did not lead to any change in the schema's pneumatological and trinitarian style. Rather, the official commentary introducing Schema 2 positively embraced the schema's approach, which the *commentarius* explained as follows: "the first articles, no. 2-4, shows that the Church comes forth from God, one and three, namely from the eternal Father's plan, the mission given to the Son for execution, and the sanctification completed by the Holy Spirit; thus it is shown that the doctrine of the Church has its foundation in the principal dogma of christianity".<sup>483</sup> In the light of the serious theological questions raised against the text one is surprised to read this without finding any trace in Tromp's minutes or in other diaries of reasons in favor of the schema's pneumatological style. Philips did not motivate his choice for maintaining the text. Was the issue unwelcome and did Philips neutralize it as skilfully as he could?

Thus at the surface little happened, but not so under the surface. At the surface, one finds two instances of the shortening of the text and some other editing, both the fruit of discussions on the level of the Doctrinal Commission, probably in the light of editorial concerns; the exact background will be studied in chapter 5.4. Under the surface, there had been a fierce criticism of the pneumatological and trinitarian-theological implications of the text's style. Clearly the pneumatological style – which, as we have seen, goes back to the Chilean text – was not uncontested. The diaries give a strong impression that the issue was not properly debated: neither at the time the Chilean schema was selected nor at this moment, when the style copied from that schema was contested. That means that there is no ground for claiming that, theologically speaking, this particular pneumatological style was a deliberate choice.

### **From Schema 2 to Schema 3<sup>484</sup>**

The next step was to see if the Council fathers would accept the text. An important point of no return was reached when, during the early days of the Second Period, an overwhelming majority of the Council fathers voted in favor of accepting the text as basis for further improvements (see chapter 2.2). Henceforth it was not possible any more to propose wholly new, alternative texts. Yet it was still possible to request changes in the text, as some Council fathers did.

---

<sup>483</sup> AS II/1, 229, "Prima sectio, n.2-4, ostendit Ecclesiam ex Deo Uno et Trino oriri, nempe ex aeterni Patris consilio, missione Filii exsecutioni mandato, et sanctificatione Spiritus Sancti completo; sicque ostenditur doctrinam de Ecclesia in dogmate primario christianismi fundari". Cf. also the fact that these words deepen rather than soften the words of the draft from March 1<sup>st</sup>, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 597, "imprimis describitur natura Ecclesiae, ut aeterni Patris de universali salute consilium, per Filii missionem executioni mandatum, et a Spiritu sanctificante completum (no. 1-3). Haec est Ecclesia de Trinitate". These words date back to the draft from February 27<sup>th</sup>, see CSVII no. 595 and no. 596.

<sup>484</sup> For the text of LG 4, see AS III/1, 161.

In early October, the Doctrinal Commission appointed a Subcommittee to process the various requests for improvements,<sup>485</sup> and later that month, in order to speed up the work, it decided that seven commissions were to assist the original subcommission – now called Central Subcommittee – with its task.<sup>486</sup> The subcommission for the first chapter, Subcommittee 1, consisted of the Council fathers Bishop Charue, who acted as president, Bishop Pelletier, and Johannes Van Dodewaard, bishop of Haarlem (The Netherlands). Its *periti* were Giorgio Castellino, Lucien Cerfaux, Jean Daniélou, Joseph-Clifford Fenton, Salvatore Garofalo, with the Belgian Franciscan Béda Rigaux as secretary.<sup>487</sup> Subcommittee 1 worked quickly: the work was ready in early November.<sup>488</sup> After a final revision of the whole Schema in the Coordinating Commission the chapters were sent out to the Council fathers on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 1964, together with two *Relationes*.<sup>489</sup> Figure nine on the next page compares Schema 2 to Schema 3. What is crossed out was deleted, what is underlined was added, and phrases in italics were moved to a different place in the text.

---

<sup>485</sup> This was proposed by Ottaviani on October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1963, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 49. The Subcommittee consisted of Cardinal Browne (president), Archbishops Florit and Garrone, Bishops Charue and Spanedda. As *periti* were chosen, amongst others because they were familiar with the development of the text: Philips, Schauf, Medina, Gagnebet, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 75. On October 14<sup>th</sup>, Philip asked Moeller to join the team to help him, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 147.

<sup>486</sup> Cf. the *Relatio* on the work of the Subcommittee by Philips, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 944-950, 941. The Subcommittee made its proposal to work with smaller subcommittees on October 21<sup>st</sup>; the Doctrinal Commission accepted it on October 29<sup>th</sup>. The original number of twelve smaller subcommittees was reduced to seven, with an eighth subcommittee added after it had been decided to include the schema on Mary into *De Ecclesia*. See von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 187, 205, 225, 229-231, 237-239 and 1074-1075.

<sup>487</sup> Cf. Philips' "Relatio de labore Subcommittee Centralis", dated December 4<sup>th</sup>, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 947. Rigaux (1899-1982) was a Scripture scholar and Council *peritus* from the Second Period onwards, see A. Raffelt, "Riaux, Béda", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 228.

<sup>488</sup> The Subcommittee met on November 6<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup>, see the minutes by Rigaux, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1104-1105. On November 11<sup>th</sup>, Philips announced the commission had finished, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 277. The revision was discussed in the Central Subcommittee on November 13<sup>th</sup> and in the Doctrinal Commission on the November 18<sup>th</sup>, continued on the 25<sup>th</sup> and concluded on the 26<sup>th</sup>, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 279, 291-299, 337-349. Tromp notes on November 30<sup>th</sup> that he corrected the printed version, see *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol 3, 361.

<sup>489</sup> See AS III/1, 161f. The first was a *Relatio* in general; the *Relatio de singulis numeris* explained each specific section.



Schema 2	Schema 3
<p>4. [De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante]</p> <p>(1) Opere autem consummato, quod Pater Christo commisit in terra faciendum (cf. Io. 17, 4), misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cf. Gal. 4, 6), in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cf. Eph. 2, 18).</p> <p>(2) Ipse est Spiritus vitae seu aqua saliens in vitam aeternam (cf. Io 4, 14), per quem Pater homines peccato mortuos in Christo resuscitat (cf Rom. 8, 10 ss.).</p> <p>(3-4) In fidelibus et in Ecclesia tamquam in templo habitat (cf. 1 Cor. 3, 16; 6, 19; Eph. 2, 22; 1 Pt. 2, 5),</p> <p>Ecclesiam diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cf. 1 Cor. 12, 4; Gal. 5, 22).</p> <p>(5) Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, qui per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat,<sup>6</sup> et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem perducit.</p> <p>(6) Nam Spiritus et Sponsa ad Dominum Iesum dicunt «Veni» (cf. Apoc. 22, 17).</p> <p>(7) Sic apparet universa Ecclesia sicuti «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata».<sup>7</sup></p> <p><i>(6) S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III, 24, 1: PG 7, 966: ed. Sagnard, p. 398: «Quam (praedicationem) perceptam ab Ecclesia custodimus, et quae semper a Spiritu Dei quasi in vaso bono eximium quoddam dispositum (depositum) iuvenescens et iuvenescere faciens ipsum vas in quo est ... Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Ecclesia et omnis gratia».</i></p> <p><i>(7) S. Cyprianus, De Orat. Dom. 23: PL 4, 553: CSEL 3 A, p. 285; cf. S. Augustinus, Sermon 71, 20, 33: PL 38, 463 s.: «Societas unitatis Ecclesiae Dei, extra quam non fit remissio peccatorum, tanquam proprium est opus Spiritus Sancti, Patre sane et Filio cooperantibus, quia societas est quodammodo Patris et Filii ipse Spiritus Sanctus»; S. Ioannes Damascenus, Adv. Iconocl. 12: PG 96, 1358 D: «Credimus igitur in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Dei Ecclesiam, in qua per institutionem erudimur. Congnoscimus quoque Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et baptizamus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti»; cf. Fulgentius Rusp., Ad Monim. 2, 11: PL 65, 190 s.; S. Cyrillus Hier., Catech. 5 append.: PG 33, 535-536.</i></p>	<p>[De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante]</p> <p>(1) Opere autem consummato, quod Pater <del>Christo</del> <u>Filio</u> commisit in terra faciendum (cf. Io. 17, 4), <del>misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui</del> <u>missus est Spiritus Sanctus in corda nostra</u> (cf. Gal. 4, 6) <u>die Pentecostes, ut Ecclesiam iugiter sanctificaret, atque ita credentes per Christum in quo</u> uno Spiritu accessum <u>haberent</u> ad Patrem (cf. Eph. 2, 18).</p> <p>(2) Ipse est Spiritus vitae seu <u>fons aquae salientis</u> in vitam aeternam (cf. Io 4, 14; <u>7, 38-39</u>), per quem Pater homines, peccato mortuos, <u>vivificat, donec eorum mortalia corpora</u> in Christo resuscitet (cf. Rom. 8, <u>10-11</u>).</p> <p>(3) <u>Spiritus in Ecclesia et in cordibus fidelium</u> tamquam in templo habitat (cf. 1 Cor. 3, 16; 6, 19; <u>Eph. 2, 22; 1 Pt. 2, 5</u>), <u>in eisque orat et testimonium adoptionis filiorum reddit</u> (cf. Gal. 4, 6; Rom. 8, <u>15 et 26</u>).</p> <p>(4) Ecclesiam, <u>quam in omnem veritatem inducit</u> (cf. Io. 16, 13) <u>et in communione et ministracione unificat</u>, diversis donis <u>hierarchicis</u> et charismaticis <u>suis</u> dirigit, et fructibus suis adornat (cf. <u>Eph. 4, 11-12</u>; 1 Cor. 12, 4; Gal. 5, 22).</p> <p>(5) <del>Ubi Ecclesia ibi et Spiritus Dei, qui per</del> Virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat; et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem perducit.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>(6) Nam Spiritus et Sponsa ad Dominum Iesum dicunt «Veni » (cf. Apoc. 22, 17).</p> <p>(7) Sic apparet universa Ecclesia sicuti «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata».<sup>4</sup></p> <p><i>(3) Cf. S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III, 24, 1: PG 7, 966 B; Harvey 2, 131; ed. Sagnard, Sources Chr., p. 398: «<u>Quam (praedicationem) perceptam ab Ecclesia custodimus, et quae semper a Spiritu Dei quasi in vaso bono eximium quoddam dispositum (depositum) iuvenescens et iuvenescere faciens ipsum vas in quo est ... Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Ecclesia et omnis gratia</u>».</i></p> <p><i>(4) S. Cyprianus, De Orat. Dom. 23: PL 4, 553: <u>Hartel III A CSEL 3 A</u>, p. 285; <del>cf.</del> <u>S. Augustinus, Sermon 71, 20, 33: PL 38, 463 s.: «Societas unitatis Ecclesiae Dei, extra quam non fit remissio peccatorum, tanquam proprium est opus Spiritus Sancti, Patre sane et Filio cooperantibus, quia societas est quodammodo Patris et Filii ipse Spiritus Sanctus »; S. Ioannes Damascenus, Adv. Iconocl. 12: PG 96, 1358 D: «Credimus igitur in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Dei Ecclesiam, in qua per institutionem erudimur. Congnoscimus quoque Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et baptizamus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti »; cf. Fulgentius Rusp., Ad Monim. 2, 11: PL 65, 190 s.; S. Cyrillus Hier., Catech. 5 append.: PG 33, 535-536.</u></i></p>

**Figure 9.** The development from Schema 2 to Schema 3. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new. Italics: order changed.

Figure nine shows that most of the text remained intact, both its structure and its content. Yet different from earlier editorial rounds, the text was this time developed rather than shortened. The underlined phrases demonstrate that the sentences on indwelling (sentence 3) and on charisms and fruits (sentence 4) were enlarged with references to prayer, testimony of sonship (sentence 3), truth and unity (sentence 4). In the sentence on the Spirit of life (sentence 2), the proposition on resurrection was stretched to include spiritual life here and now. The theme of Pentecost, which had been mentioned in the February Philips Schema (see figure six, sentence 2bis), was reintroduced. Thus Philips enlarged the scope of the Spirit's involvement in the Church. In addition, by adding references to the Spirit's role of unifying, teaching, praying, and testifying to divine sonship, the schema's typical pneumatological approach was strengthened.<sup>490</sup> The editorial work continued, too. Philips replaced part of the opening sentence so that the focus was not on indwelling but on the Spirit's mission towards the Church. He also considerably shortened the footnotes.

For a proper evaluation of these continuities and developments, some background information is once again useful. In the first place, it seems that the vast majority of the Council fathers had not much interest in the trinitarian and pneumatological aspect of the text, as the vast majority did not comment on the new trinitarian structure of the schema's opening articles. Probably they considered other ecclesiological topics more pressing, such as the heavily contested issue of episcopal collegiality. In addition, they may well have ignored that DE 4 in fact took a (contested) pneumatological position.<sup>491</sup> This confirms the earlier conclusion that the introduction of the article did not originate in a broadly shared trinitarian or pneumatological concern (see chapter 5.2).

Secondly, some Council fathers did notice and welcome the new trinitarian approach. In their preliminary reaction sent to Rome before the Second Period started, a group of French Bishops expressed their enthusiasm with DE 4: "we are here (in this text, JM) reminded very beautifully (*perbelle*) of the action of the Holy Spirit. One can never insist enough on the Spirit's indwelling in the Church, which becomes by that indwelling a dwelling place (*domicilium*) of grace".<sup>492</sup> Ironically, the second part of the comment shows that these Bishops praised something else than what the text actually stated; the focus was not on indwelling but on the sanctification of the Church. Cardinal Paul Richaud, archbishop of Bordeaux (France), too appreciated the fact that "the action of the Holy Spirit

---

<sup>490</sup> Was this done deliberately? Rigaux composed a list of relevant interventions both in relation to the pressing issues and to the various articles, that is preserved in the Philips archive, but unfortunately this version stops after article 3, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 952. Therefore, we do not know the motives behind these pneumatological changes.

<sup>491</sup> Interventions like Bishop Henri Jenny's reveal that a trinitarian and pneumatological awareness was in no way a given. Jenny, auxiliary bishop of Cambrai (France) and member of the Commission on Liturgy, reminded the other Council fathers of "three essential points" from the New Testament: Christ as shepherd of the Church, the paschal mystery, and the people of God. The alternative text developed by Jenny confirms the christomonistic mindset, see AS II/2, 72-73.

<sup>492</sup> AS II/1, 763. The comments are from the archbishops and bishops from the provinces of Aix-en-Provence and Avignon and the archdiocese of Marseille.

is clearer”.<sup>493</sup> Similarly, Paul-Pierre Meouchi, Maronite patriarch of Antioch (Lebanon), stated – in French – that “le chapitre premier est d’une grande richesse biblique et théologique. Il rattache l’Église à la Trinité: elle est l’œuvre des Personnes divines (here he refers to DE 2-4, JM)”, although he still wished that Pentecost would receive more attention.<sup>494</sup>

On October 1<sup>st</sup>, when the debate *in aula* on Schema 2 started, various Council fathers again expressed their agreement on this point. Speaking in the name of a sizeable group of Council fathers, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, Salesian and archbishop of Santiago (Chili),<sup>495</sup> stated that “it is very good (*optime*) that this mystery (of the Church, JM) is described in a trinitarian manner (*trinitarie*)”.<sup>496</sup> This was not so surprising, as it was Silva Henríquez who had officially submitted the Chilean schema that DE 4 was based on. Manuel Trindade Salgueiro, bishop of Aveiro (Portugal), also welcomed the trinitarian introduction. He referred to the plan to describe the Church from “the principal dogma of Christianity, namely the trinitarian mystery” and evaluated the execution of that plan very positively.<sup>497</sup> This handful of reactions shows that the new text did find support with some Council fathers.<sup>498</sup>

Thirdly, the article was criticized again for the pneumatological convictions it implied. Cardinal Silva Henríquez noted two “defects” in relation to the trinitarian section that needed to be mended, one of which was related to appropriation: “it is not stated clearly whether reference is made to each divine person in a proper or appropriated manner, so that the trinitarian aspects are described in a confused and improper manner”.<sup>499</sup> The comment is somewhat puzzling as it applies to the Chilean schema that was submitted by the Cardinal himself and that Philips extensively copied from as well. Bishop Trindade welcomed the trinitarian aspect of the text, but criticised its articulation. He

<sup>493</sup> AS II/1, 608, “Apparet melius actio Spiritus Sancti”.

<sup>494</sup> AS II/1, 692, 694.

<sup>495</sup> Silva Henríquez (1907-1999) had taught canon law, was the president of Caritas International and the president of the Chilean episcopal conference, see M. Delgado, “Silva Henríquez, Raúl”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 254-255.

<sup>496</sup> AS II/1, 367. Yet the night before, Cardinal Silva Henríquez had privately talked to Cardinal Suenens and proposed to replace the opening articles with those from the Chilean text, because of the richer content of the Chilean version; cf. figure 6, which shows that the Chilean text is about two times longer than the Philips text. Cf. Prignon’s testimony, “Le soir, le card. Silva du Chili vient au collège pour soumettre à Suenens une proposition: la 1<sup>re</sup> partie du texte du schéma De Eccl. (rattachement de l’Église aux 3 personnes divines) est beaucoup moins riche que dans le projet du schéma chilien. Silva voudrait qu’on replace la rédaction actuelle par la rédaction chilienne”, Fonds Prignon, no. 512.

<sup>497</sup> AS II/2, 151. These words on the principal dogma echo the *Commentarius*, AS II/1, 229. Cf. the very quick remark by Fernando Ruiz y Solórzano, archbishop of Yucatán (Mexico), on the Trinity as the first Christian mystery, AS II/2, 194.

<sup>498</sup> Cf. the contributions by Paul-Léon Seitz, bishop of Kontum (Vietnam), and Jean Wolff, Holy Ghost Father and archbishop of Diégo-Suarez (Madagascar), who wanted a trinitarian introduction but in another style. For Seitz, cf. “Dieu, trine et une, est la cause exemplaire notamment de l’Église. Le Père envoie le Fils (profère le Verbe) et, par le Fils, l’Esprit, en mission d’amour achevée par le retour au sein du Père (cf. Is. 55,11)”, AS II/1, 706. For Wolff, see AS II/2, 203-204.

<sup>499</sup> AS II/1, 367, cf. “duplicem defectum expungendum est, scilicet: (...) b) non clare proponere quod ad unamquamque divinam Personam proprie vel appropriate refertur unde confuse et improprie describantur aspectus trinitarii”.

too regretted that it was not clear whether the activities were linked to the divine persons in a proper or appropriated manner, and recommended to stay closer to the language of Scripture and Tradition. This would also have the practical advantage that several repetitions would disappear. In the alternative text he proposed, the Spirit's role was described with significantly less active and specific verbs.<sup>500</sup> Bishop Arturo Tabera Araoz, Missionary of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, bishop of Albacete (Spain), expressed reservations about the Schema's trinitarian introduction too. He was afraid that the three divine persons were understood as having distinct roles, so that the Trinity would no longer be an example of ecclesial unity. Logically therefore he wished the Cyprian quote, with its focus on unity, to be the starting point of the chapter.<sup>501</sup> This once again shows that the specific pneumatological style of DE 4 was not uncontested.<sup>502</sup>

Fourthly, during the discussion with the observers on October 1<sup>st</sup>, some participants expressed their contentment with the trinitarian starting point. According to the *Résumé des discussions*, the Lutheran Scripture scholar Oscar Cullman commented that "il est important que l'aspect trinitaire soit mis en avant comme il l'a été".<sup>503</sup> Alexander Schmemmann, the dean of St Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary (New York), joined Cullmann's positive assessment: "Je me réjouis de ce que le prof. Cullmann a dit. L'aspect trinitaire est très important, je me réjouis qu'on l'ait souligné".<sup>504</sup>

<sup>500</sup> AS II/2, 151. After praising the idea of a trinitarian ecclesiology he continued: "Quando autem hoc propositum in rem deducitur in ipso constitutionis textu, meo humili iudicio res non ita feliciter evasit. Par. 2, 3 et 4 textus non videntur satis in evidentiam ponere quae singulis SS. Trinitatis sunt propria vel de ipsis per appropriationem in Sacra Scriptura et traditione fundatam sunt dicta, quando agitur de describendo earum intervntu in mysterio Ecclesiae efformando. Si ita fieret, evitarentur repetitiones quae in textu inveniuntur et aspectus cuiusdam operis musivi, de quo aliqui Patres iuste conquesti sunt". For Trinitate's text proposal, see AS II/2, 152.

<sup>501</sup> AS II/1, 729, cf. "Caute procedendum in hac structura Ecclesiologiae trinitariae ne perperam quis adhibeat notiones proprietatis et appropriationis in divinis Personis, cum socialis Ecclesiae unitas ad divinarum Personarum exemplar fieri recte asseritur. Forsitan ultima pericopa n. 4 huius capitis, quae pulcherrima verba S. Cypriani refert, praemittenda esset ut quoddam breve huius capitis prooemium".

<sup>502</sup> Cf. the question raised by Enrico Romolo Compagnone, member of the discaled carmelites and bishop of Anagni (Italy), in relation to DE 2. He questioned the way in which certain activities were attributed to the Father, as "the whole Trinity has created the universe and lifted humankind to participation in the divine life", AS II/1, 439. Cf. "Non placet autem quod, agendo de Persona Patris in n. 2, pag. 7, fiat usus non necessarius doctrinae theologicae de appropriatione. Revera non solus Pater, sed tota Trinitas universum creavit, homines ad participandam vitam divinam elevavit, eosque lapsos in Adamo non dereliquit".

<sup>503</sup> "Résumé des discussions avec les observateurs sur le schéma De Ecclesia" (October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963), CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1050, 1. Cullmann (1902-1999), who taught Scripture and church history in Basel and Paris, was an observer-guest of the Secretariate for Christian Unity on , see M. Quisinsky, "Cullmann, Oscar", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 84-85, cf. B. Neumann, "Cullmann, Oscar", Ernesti, Thönnissen (eds.), *Personenlexikon Ökumene*, 61-63.

<sup>504</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1050, 1. Schmemmann (1921-1983), who taught church history and liturgy, was an observer-guest of the Secretariat for Christian Unity. See J. Oeldemann, "Schmemmann, Alexander", Ernesti, Thönnissen (eds.), *Personenlexikon Ökumene*, 203-204, cf. *The Journals of Father Alexander Schmemmann, 1973-1983* (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000), transl. J. Schmemmann.

Nissiotis agreed with Schmemmann.<sup>505</sup> All the same, the observers made suggestions for improvements. Cullmann highlighted eschatology, although it is not clear if he did so in relation to LG 4, or to chapter one, or even to chapters one and two.<sup>506</sup> Schmemmann added that LG 4's approach was too individualistic and did not sufficiently consider the new era that Pentecost inaugurated.<sup>507</sup> According to Nissiotis, it was also important to mention the Eucharist: "On ne peut donc pas parler de l'Eglise dans l'Esprit sans parler de l'Eucharistie".<sup>508</sup>

It remains virtually impossible to demonstrate a concrete influence from these comments, all the more so as these comments were not shared publicly and were only known to the small group of experts and bishops present at the meeting. Yet both because of their ecumenical commitment and because of the theological quality of the comments by the observers, experts such as Congar and Thils probably took note of what was said in their presence.<sup>509</sup> In this regard, the fact that Philips' archive contains a copy of the *Résumé des discussions* may be meaningful; moreover, he was present at the meeting on October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1963, when the chapter on the hierarchy was being discussed.<sup>510</sup> In addition, what was said during these meetings was spread more widely insofar as the observers met with council fathers during the course of the Council both formally and informally.

Fifthly, a closer look at the various reactions reveals that the inclusion of new Spirit-related aspects into the Schema originated in the wishes of various Council fathers, not all of which were heeded. The German-Scandinavian Council fathers had wanted to stretch DE 4's understanding of the Holy Spirit in such a way that it would also mention the Spirit's work before Christ, and therefore proposed to call the Spirit "the eschatological gift".<sup>511</sup> In addition they also wanted to add a sentence on the Spirit as principle of unity.<sup>512</sup> A reference to unity was added, but not to eschatology. Stanislaus Lokuang, bishop of Tainan (Taiwan), wished DE 4 to be developed further in the direction of teaching and vivifying,<sup>513</sup> a wish that was heeded. And on the basis of both Scripture and oriental theology,

---

<sup>505</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1050, 2.

<sup>506</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1050, 1.

<sup>507</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1050, 1.

<sup>508</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1050, 2.

<sup>509</sup> Cf. the notes in Congar's diary, see e.g. Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 415-419. For some reflections on the role of the Observers, see P. De Mey, "The Role of the Observers During the Second Vatican Council", *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 60 (2016), 33-51 and R. Bordeianu, "Orthodox Observers at the Second Vatican Council and Intra-Orthodox Dynamics", *Theological Studies* 79 (2018), 86-106. For an detailed study, see M. Velati, *Separati ma fratelli. Gli osservatori non cattolici al Vaticano II (1962-1965)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014).

<sup>510</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1050, 1. In the top corner one reads "strictly personnel". His presence is attested in no. 1051.

<sup>511</sup> AS II/1, 776, "ante verbum «Ubi» ponatur: «et Ecclesiae unitatis est principium increatum et invisibile»". Cf. the earlier explanation "so that the Holy Spirit appears (*appareat*) as principle of unity", 775.

<sup>512</sup> AS II/1, 776. Unity had been at the forefront of their own pneumatology, cf. the *Schema Germanicum*.

<sup>513</sup> AS II/1, 685.

Joseph Martin, archbishop of Rouen (France),<sup>514</sup> wanted the Spirit's work of renewing to be the focus of DE 4's pneumatology.<sup>515</sup> That wish was not heeded, probably because the text already spoke about renewal. Finally, in a written intervention, Cardinal Laurean Rugambwa, bishop of Bukoba (Chad), noted that DE 4 was written from a Western perspective, not from a missionary perspective.<sup>516</sup> DE 4 should make it clear that the Church does not have a "monopoly" and that the Spirit works beyond the confines of the Church.<sup>517</sup>

Various Council fathers spoke about mentioning Pentecost. Luigi Maria Carli, bishop of Segni (Italy) and one of the leading members of the traditionalist *Coetus Internationalis Patrum*,<sup>518</sup> proposed to alter the first sentence so that Pentecost, "the birth of the Church as such", would be mentioned.<sup>519</sup> Ironically, his alternative did not feature an explicit reference to Pentecost either, only the Scripture reference Acts 2:4.<sup>520</sup> Patriarch Meouchi concluded his reflection on chapter one somewhat similarly.<sup>521</sup> Various other Council fathers also mentioned Pentecost, and Carlo Confalonieri, who had been secretary to the Congregation for Seminaries and Institutes for Education and a cardinal since 1958,<sup>522</sup> even consecrated the whole of his address to Pentecost.<sup>523</sup>

---

<sup>514</sup> Martin (1891-1976) was a member of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, see M. Quisinsky, "Martin, Joseph", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 187.

<sup>515</sup> AS II/2, 61, see especially the *animadversiones additae* at 63. The intervention had been prepared by the French Benedictine friar of Chevetogne, Emmanuel Lanne. Another, earlier version of the text shows that Martin took note of and welcomed the broad description of the Spirit's involvement, but that he considered the re-creation of the "Nova Creatura in Christo" the Spirit's essential work, see Archive Emmanuel Lanne OSB, "In capite primo schematis Ecclesiae animadversiones circa munus Christi et Spiritus Sancti in mysterio Ecclesiae", 3, cf. L. Declerck, *Inventaire des papiers conciliaires d'Emmanuel Lanne, o.s.b., moine du Monastère de Chevetogne, membre du Secrétariat pour l'unité des chrétiens. Avec une Introduction par Michel Van Parys, o.s.b.* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 65. It is not entirely clear if that new creation referred to the Church or the human person. Lanne (1923-2010), a Benedictine monk from Chevetogne and professor of liturgy, was a member of the Secretariat for Christian Unity from the Second Period onwards, see M. Quisinsky, "Lanne, Emmanuel", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 160; Melloni, Ruozi, Galavotti, (eds.), *Vatican II: The Complete History*, 133.

<sup>516</sup> Rugambwa (1912-1997) was a member of the Central Preparatory Commission and a member of the Commission for Missions, see J.M. Kamugisha, editors, "Rugambwa, Laurean", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 235-236.

<sup>517</sup> AS II/2, 132.

<sup>518</sup> Carli (1914-1986) was a member of the Central Preparatory Commission and the Commission for bishops. Opposed to collegiality, Carli joined the *Coetus internationalis Patrum*, to become one of its leaders. See Ph. Roy, "Carli, Luigi Maria", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 72.

<sup>519</sup> AS II/1, 630.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. "dicerem: « .... Filii sui in Ecclesiam (cf. Act. 2,4) et in corda nostra ». Secus nullibi in toto schemate haberetur mentio Pentecostes, scil. natiuitatis Ecclesiae uti talis", AS II/1, 630.

<sup>521</sup> AS II/1, 694.

<sup>522</sup> Confalonieri (1893-1986) was a member of the Central Preparatory Commission, the Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs and the Coordinating Commission, see Ph. Roy, "Confalonieri, Carlo", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 81-82.

Finally, it seems that Philips did not consider any of these comments to be very significant. For when he summarised the reactions sent before the Second Period and the interventions until the 10<sup>th</sup> of October in a so-called *Conspectus* that Subcommission 1 could rely on for its work, Philips did not include the trinitarian considerations amongst the prominent topics.<sup>524</sup> Although he noted that “several recommend the theme of the *Ecclesia Trinitatis*”,<sup>525</sup> the Trinity, appropriation or any other pneumatological point was not on the *Conspectus*’ list of the pressing issues for chapter one. Instead, the focus was on the issues of the Kingdom of God, evangelical poverty, the words mystery and sacrament, the variety of biblical images of the Church, and the mystical body.<sup>526</sup> Especially in relation to the fundamental of appropriation, this was remarkable, as the comments on this concerned the general setup of the whole article. Was this because the Council fathers had voted in favor of accepting Schema 2 as basis text? Or did Philips consider the discussion on that topic a repetition of the discussion in the Doctrinal Commission, and therefore not significant? Or did he still want to avoid the issue, possibly to avoid having to rewrite the whole text?

Interestingly, when later that month, the revised text came to the Doctrinal Commission,<sup>527</sup> the issue of appropriation came up once again. Tromp recorded that Parente spoke “about the missions”, which is shorthand for the issue of appropriation and therefore a repetition of his earlier intervention on the matter.<sup>528</sup> Again, Philips did not change the text. In the *Relatio* to Schema 3, he explained: “some (Council, JM) fathers want to distinguish more clearly between what is *proper* or *appropriated* to the divine person. To avoid disputations, the text speaks simply with the words used indiscriminately in Scripture as well as in Creeds and Councils. It seemed that we should not enter into further theological explications of the Trinity”.<sup>529</sup> That explanation everything but convinces. For as

---

<sup>523</sup> AS II/2, 16-17.

<sup>524</sup> “Conspectus observationum generalium in totum schema De Ecclesia (redactio altera)”, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1095-1101. The discussion on the first chapter had ended on October 4<sup>th</sup>, the *Conspectus* was dated October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1963.

<sup>525</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1100.

<sup>526</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1101, cf. 1103, “Quaestiones sunt praevalenter ordinis biblicis, scilicet: de Ecclesia fundata super Petrum et Apostolos, de voce Mysterii, de «Sacramento», de Regno Dei (paragraphus addenda), de variis imaginibus apud S. Paulum et de earum ordinatione, de paupertate evangelica”. Also in the *Relatio* in AS III/1, 179. For obvious reasons, the first of these topics belonged to the chapter on the people of God and on hierarchy, cf. AS III/1, 235-236.

<sup>527</sup> The Central Subcommission discussed Subcommission 1’s proposal on November 13<sup>th</sup>, cf. von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 279 and cf. Philips’ minutes in CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 947. A more extensive revision by the Doctrinal Commission took place on November 18<sup>th</sup> (some topics) and 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> (each article), cf. von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 293-299 and 337-349.

<sup>528</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 339, cf. vol. 2, 269, “Parente notat minus recte dicta de missionibus”, see also at 271.

<sup>529</sup> *Relatio*, AS III/1, 171. The explanation was made in relation to DE 2 but seems to be relevant also for DE 4. Cf. full text, “Aliqui Patres clarius distinguere volunt inter ea quae divinis Personis sunt *propria* vel *appropriata*. Ut disputationes

the recurrent debate indicates, avoiding disputations is precisely what the text does not do. DE 4's quite unique pneumatological style was never properly discussed and never, from a theological perspective, deliberately chosen.

In conclusion, when the *Relatio* summarised that “the text remains substantially unchanged, yet some changes are introduced, according to the desires of the Fathers”,<sup>530</sup> it speaks only partially the truth. Indeed, most of the text remained intact, as various Council fathers expressed their agreement with it. And in so far as it changed, this too happened in response to wishes of the Council fathers. However, the full picture of what happened was much more exciting than the peaceful one sketched in the *Relatio*. For in order to substantially maintain the text, Philips had to withstand another round of appropriation-related criticism. This he did by avoiding a real debate, without giving convincing arguments.

### **From Schema 3 to *Lumen Gentium***<sup>531</sup>

During the Third Period, LG 4 was not discussed any more. Schema 2 had been accepted as basis text, after which it had been improved on the basis of the request expressed by the Council fathers. What remained to be done now was to approve the result of that process, Schema 3. As we saw in chapter 2.2, the vote on Schema 3 was overwhelmingly in favor of the new text, yet there was still room for minor improvements or *modi*. Indeed, the Vatican Archives reveal that, in relation to DE 4, six *modi* were submitted, four of which related to the issue of “hierarchical and charismatic gifts”. The response by the Subcommittee for *modi* consisted partly in putting these requests aside, partly in defending the new text, and partly in accepting a change, namely by adding the verb *instruit*: “diversis donis hierarchicis et charismaticis instruit ac dirigit”.<sup>532</sup> More details follow in the analysis of this sentence in 4.4. For now it is sufficient to conclude that during the final round, little changed.

---

vitentur, textus loquitur simpliciter secundum verba, quae tum in Scripturis, tum in Symbolis fidei et Conciliis passim adhibentur. In explicationes theologicas posteriores de SS. Trinitate non videtur intrandum. Notum est autem quod apud S. Paulum, notatim Eph. 1, revelatio de salute per Ecclesiam secundum munus trium Personarum exhibetur”.

<sup>530</sup> AS III/1, 172, cf. the Latin, “Textus remanet substantialiter immutatus. Introducuntur tamen quaedam emendationes secundum desideria a Patribus expressa”. Seven changes were highlighted, although in fact more changes were made.

<sup>531</sup> For the text, see AS III/8, 785.

<sup>532</sup> The full list of all the *Modi* that were submitted to the Subcommittee is not in the *Acta* nor in the CSVII Philips Archive. Therefore I owe a debt of gratitude to prof dr Peter De Mey (KU Leuven), who copied what he found in the Vatican Archives (ASV) in relation to LG 4. The list as it came to the Council fathers is in AS III/6, 78-82. The *Relatio de particularibus* lists twenty proposals but under numbers six, seven and nineteen two proposals are listed, which makes twenty-three proposals. In fact, more *Modi* were submitted, but not all fulfilled the criteria. For example, Volk proposed to delete article 3 which, as Philips noted in the margins, would change the whole structure of the chapter.



## Intermediary Conclusion

What does this overview of the development from *Schema Chilensis* onwards reveal about the pneumatological renewal in article LG 4 as a whole? Firstly, the textual explorations reveal that the pneumatological approach remained unchanged. In describing the Spirit's involvement in the Church through a list of activities in which the Spirit was conceived in complementarity with Christ, LG 4 closely followed the *Schema Chilensis* in the same way as the February Philips Schema had done. In schema 3, this approach was even strengthened because Philips added several more activities. LG 4 owes its bold pneumatology to the Chileans.

Secondly, it is not so clear what it means that the article's pneumatological style remained unchanged. Did the Council fathers welcome the trinitarian approach to the Church and this specific type of pneumatology? Admittedly, almost all Council fathers formally embraced the text during the vote at the beginning of the Second Period, at the beginning of the Third Period, and towards the end of the Third Period. Yet in the same way as only a small number of Council fathers had in their interventions problematised the binitarian introduction of Schema 1, only a small number of Council fathers explicitly welcomed the trinitarian introduction. Can this article and its pneumatological style therefore be stated to correspond to the mind of the Council fathers? The weight of that question increases in the light of the persistent criticism of the trinitarian-theological vision LG 4 implied, and that was highlighted in the chapter. It becomes even more pertinent as Philips maintained the style without explaining why, so that there is no account whatsoever of the conviction underlying this specific pneumatological style.

Thirdly, the overview in this section revealed that Philips also improved the flow of the text, made it more concise, corrected its Scripture references, and so on. A major motive for this was editorial. Philips simply wanted to improve the text as such. In addition, by using the material that was available, by working together with experts, and by considering the requests of Council fathers, Philips operated also in a conciliar mode. The conciliar motive is also obvious from the fact that the texts prepared by Philips were submitted to the Subcommission, to the Doctrinal Commission, the Coordinating Commission and the Council fathers. As we will see in the next section, chapter 5.4, the wishes of the Council fathers were heard and in some cases followed. By contrast, the fact that Philips avoided a theological debate suggests that the conciliar motive played no major role.

In the next section I will zoom in on the details of the textual changes and their background per sentence. This may help further to establish the influence of the Council fathers, the Doctrinal Commission, its experts and Philips, the text's main editor.

## 5.4 The Pneumatological Development of *Lumen Gentium* 4 per Sentence

Having in the previous section outlined the pneumatological development of LG 4 in general by exploring the development of article LG 4 as a whole, I will now zoom in on the development of each of its seven sentences. The same three questions will be posed: what changed, who were involved, and what motives played a role?

### Title. The Sanctifying Spirit

Although the official promulgated text has no article titles, earlier versions did have working titles. The way these changed is instructive. Figure ten below gives an overview of four text version.

Schema 1	Schema Chilensis	Schema 2	Schema 3
1. Prologus: Dei Patris consilium	1 Ad Patrem	2. Aeterni Patris de universali salute consilium	2. Aeterni Patris de universali salute consilium
2. Concilii Patris per Filium executio	2 In Filio	3. De missione Filii	3. De missione et munere Filii
	3 Per Spiritum Sanctum	4. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante	4. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante

**Figure 10.** The development of the title of LG 4 from Schema 1 to Schema 3.

In addition to recalling that Schema 1 was binitarian, figure ten reveals a development from a “return model” to a salvation-historical model. For Schema 2 did not follow the Chilean titles but replaced those with salvation-historical ones, inspired by Schema 1. Thus the reflection on the plan of the Father was followed by reflections on the mission of the Son and the Spirit’s sanctifying work.

In the notes added to the Chilean text proposal, its authors clarified that they wanted to conceive the Church in a theological manner, without a defensive focus on hierarchy. They found support to do so in Aquinas, who conceived the Church from the “return of the human being to God”, that is, in a radically God-focused manner. Therefore in its first sentence the Schema described the Church as “pilgrimage *ad Patrem, in Filio, per Spiritum Sanctum*”.<sup>533</sup>

That means that the agenda of the Chilean schema and Schema 2 overlap. For Schema 2 provided ecclesiology with a theological instead of hierarchy-centered ecclesiological framework too. It may even be argued to have done so more consistently, for by starting not from the Church and its return to the Father, but from God’s work in the world, it is very clear that the framework is not the Church, or us and our return to God, but God.

<sup>533</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 81. Cf. the explanation accompanying the *Schema Chilensis* as well as the later commentary by Marcela Aranda and Sandra Arenas, see *Propuesta de Chile*, 54-55 and 72-77, cf. 85-86.

In the course of the redaction process the new title of the article on the Spirit remained unaltered, in spite of critique from various corners. Casimiro Morcillo González, archbishop of Zaragoza (Spain) and a member of the *Coetus internationalis patrum*, was concerned about the issue of appropriation and wished therefore other titles for articles DE 2-4.<sup>534</sup> Would he have been content if the proposal by Paul-Léon Seitz, bishop of Kontum (Vietnam), had been followed? For Seitz proposed to replace the salvation-historical title “On the Church-sanctifying Spirit” with the more classical and technical title “On the mission of the Spirit”.<sup>535</sup> With this proposal, he probably followed the example of the article on the Son, but it seems that that article stood out as the exception rather than that the articles on the Father (DE 2) and the Spirit (DE 4) did, as only article DE 3 had a technical-theological title.<sup>536</sup>

By contrast, other bishops wanted the number of activities that were specified in the title to be enlarged, thereby implicitly embracing this type of title. A group of bishops from the West of France added the word “inspire” to the title.<sup>537</sup> The French Dominican Henri-Marie Féret, personal advisor of Bishop Claude Flusin (Saint-Claude, France), observed that the content of the article itself confirmed that the Spirit did more than sanctifying, yet instead of elaborating the title in a more comprehensive salvation-historical manner he proposed the technical theological title: “on the mission of the Spirit”.<sup>538</sup>

As the article did not have a title any more in the promulgated final version, one cannot draw too many conclusions from the text’s pneumatological development. Nonetheless, it is useful to recall that the article had an underlying agenda, that it shared with the Chilean text, namely to start from God

---

<sup>534</sup> AS II/2, 183. After expressing his concerns on appropriation, he stated “Eadem de causa forte mutandi sunt tituli nn. 2, 3, et 4”, without himself offering alternative titles. Morcillo González (1904-1971) was a member of the Commission for bishops, see M. Delgado, “Morcillo González, Casimiro”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 195. However, his name does not figure in Philippe Roy’s list, see *Le coetus internationalis patrum, un groupe d’opposants au sein du Concile Vatican II*, 1573-1574.

<sup>535</sup> AS II/2, 195. Seitz somewhat developed the content of this mission in the opening sentence of his alternative text. Cf. the written intervention by Trindade, who, without accounting for it, entitled his alternative proposal for DE 4 “De Spiritus Sancti missione”, AS II/2, 152.

<sup>536</sup> Cf. however the salvation-historical explanation of DE 3 in the *Relatio* to Schema 2, which explained that DE 2-4 showed that the Church as coming from the Father’s plan, the Son’s execution of that plan – “ex missione Filii executioni mandato” – and the Spirit’s sanctifying, AS II/1, 229. It is ironical that the words on the Son echo the title of the article on the Son in Schema 1 for both schema’s conceived the Son’s role in a different ecclesiological framework. In Schema 3 the word “munus” was added, without however solving the tension with DE 2 and 4, cf. AS III/1, 172.

<sup>537</sup> AS II/1, 770. The bishops did not make a formal proposal but implied one by writing “Titulus: de Spiritu Ecclesiam inspirante et sanctificante”.

<sup>538</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 690, “Annotations de théologie et d’opportunité pastorale sur le nouveau Schema etc (=Schema 2)”, 3. For Féret (1904-1992), see Mettepenningen, *New Theology. Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II*, 57-58.

instead of the Church. In addition, the debate about the formulation of the title echoes the debate on appropriation.

### Sentence 1. The Mission of the Spirit, Pentecost, Sanctification and Access to the Father

The first sentence introduces the mission of the Spirit, that is linked to Pentecost, the sanctification of the Church and access to the Father. Figure eleven below gives an overview of the development of the sentence. What is crossed out was deleted and what is underlined was added.

<i>Schema Chilensis</i>	<b>February Philips S'</b>	<b>March Philips S'</b>	<b>Schema 2</b>	<b>Schema 3</b>
Anima Ecclesiae est Spiritus Sanctus.	<del>Anima Ecclesiae est Spiritus Sanctus.</del> <u>Opere autem consummato quod Pater Christo commisit in terra faciendum (cfr Jo., XVII, 4).</u>	Opere autem consummato quod Pater Christo commisit in terra faciendum (cfr Jo., XVII, 4),	Opere autem consummato, quod Pater Christo commisit in terra faciendum (cfr. <del>Jo. XVII</del> <u>17</u> , 4),	Opere autem consummato, quod Pater <del>Christo Filio</del> commisit in terra faciendum (cf. Io. 17, 4),
Misit enim Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (Gal. 4,6),	misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cfr Gal., IV, 6),	misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cfr Gal., IV, 6),	misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra (cfr. <del>Gal. IV</del> <u>4</u> , 6),	<del>misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui</del> missus est Spiritus Sanctus <del>in corda nostra</del> (cf. Gal. 4, 6) <u>die Pentecostes, ut Ecclesiam iugiter sanctificaret, atque ita credentes per Christum</u>
ut in eo accessum haberemus ad Patrem (Eph. 2,18).	in <del>eo</del> <u>quo uno Spiritu</u> accessum haberemus ad Patrem (cfr Eph., II, 18).	in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cfr Eph., II, 18).	in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cfr. Eph. <del>II</del> <u>2</u> , 18).	in <del>quo</del> uno Spiritu accessum haberent ad Patrem (cf. Eph. 2, 18).

**Figure 11.** The development of sentence 1. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new.

Figure eleven shows that two elements were preserved in all versions: the phrase on the Spirit as sent by God, and the phrase on access to the Father with its reference to Eph 2:18. Although the sentence clearly manifests continuity, most of the sentence changed.

Firstly, the text became more trinitarian. By replacing the reference to the Spirit as soul of the Church with an introductory phrase on Christ having fulfilled the work of the Father, Philips developed the succinct trinitarian phrase “misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui”. The introduction of *in quo uno Spiritu* further enhanced the explicitly trinitarian perspective. And although Schema 3 made it less clear who sent the Spirit, as it replaced “misit Deus Spiritum” by “missus est Spiritus”, it added another reference to Christ that made that the article ended in a trinitarian manner. The ecclesiological perspective was developed too. While the Chilean schema specified indwelling as the first mission of

the Spirit, after a somewhat loose reference to the Church in its opening phrase on the Spirit as soul of the Church, Schema 3 dropped the reference to indwelling and instead referred to Pentecost and the sanctification of the Church. Finally, the development in the February Philips Schema and Schema 3 meant that the phrase on access to the Father was recontextualised. Access to the Father was understood, not as part of a return model, but in a salvation-historical framework. Thus the textual development consisted in a more trinitarian and ecclesiological perspective as well as salvation-historical framework. Who were involved in these developments, and what was their background?

In the first place, Philips does not comment on the introduction of the salvation-historical phrase on the Father and the Son instead of the phrase on the Spirit as soul of the Church. It is improbable that Philips deleted the phrase on the Spirit as soul because the issue was contentious – as it was<sup>539</sup> – for he still called the Spirit soul in sentence 4 of the February Philips Schema. Rather, by explaining that after the Son had completed his mission, the Spirit was sent, Philips probably meant to link this article with the previous one, in order to streamline the text. In doing so, Philips in fact promoted its trinitarian and salvation-historical character as well.

A group of German-Scandinavian Council fathers wished to stretch the perspective of this opening sentence beyond the confines of the Church. Arguing that “God had sent the Spirit of Christ in the hearts of humankind also before the redemption (by Christ’s death, JM)”, and explaining that this was an important truth for our times, they proposed to specify the Spirit’s mission as “eschatological”.<sup>540</sup> Yet nothing changed.<sup>541</sup>

In the second place, what was behind the development of the trinitarian perspective, so that both the beginning and the end of LG 4’s first sentence remind of the trinitarian dynamic of the Spirit’s work? As I already suggested (see chapter 5.3), Philips may well have introduced the opening phrase on the Father and the Son for editorial reasons. Figure eleven indicates that the final phrase on access to the Father was edited for the first time in the February Philips Schema. Probably for editorial reasons, Philips subtly improved the unspecific “in Him (*in eo*)” from the Chilean text by speaking of

---

<sup>539</sup> See for example the response to Schema 1 by Placido Cambiaghi, Barbanite father and bishop of Crema (Italy), *AS* I/4, 430, “Spiritus Sanctus dicitur *anima* Corporis Ecclesiae. Haec metaphora in textu dogmatico minus placet, quatenus in Sacris Litteris nullibi invenitur, ni fallor, Spiritum Sanctum esse animam Corporis Christi, quod est Ecclesia”, followed by further explanation. Cf. also the hesitation of the Chilean schema, Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile, Propuesta de Chile*, 90, and the warning of the German Schema against “ecclesiological monophysitism”, *AS* I/4, 604. Other Council fathers however considered the doctrine to be self-evident, e.g. Cardinal Browne, *AS* I/4, 232, cf. Cardinal Ruffini, *AS* II/1, 394 (in reaction to Schema 2). In his commentary on *Lumen gentium*, Philips holds a middle view, see Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 1, 111-112.

<sup>540</sup> *AS* II/1, 776. They proposed to add *misit* the words “tamquam donum definitivum seu eschatologicum”.

<sup>541</sup> Later *Ad gentes* – which also featured a trinitarian introduction – would state in its Spirit-centered article in that “Without any doubt (*procul dubio*) the Holy Spirit already worked in the world before Christ was glorified”.

access to the Father “in the one Spirit (*in quo uno Spiritu*)”.<sup>542</sup> He probably did so to be explicit on whom *eo* referred to. For as figure twelve below demonstrates, Eph 2:18 suggested how that could be done, for it spoke of access to the father *in uno Spiritu*, not *in quo*.

Schema 2	Schema 3	Ephesians 2:18
... in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem (cf. Eph. 2,18).	... <u>per Christum</u> in <del>quo</del> uno Spiritu accessum habere <u>nt</u> ad Patrem (cf. Eph. 2,18).	... quoniam per ipsum habemus accessum ambo in uno Spiritu ad Patrem.

**Figure 12.** Schema 2 and 3 compared with Ephesians 2:18. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new.

That improvement did not satisfy. Therefore Philips added in Schema 3 *per Christum* and simplified the reference to the Spirit into *in uno Spiritu*. Thus he seems to have combined the best proposals into a trinitarian sentence with better Scriptural accuracy and greater stylistic simplicity. Father Athanasius Welykyj, a Basilian father from Ukraine and secretary of the Commission on the Oriental Churches, pleaded for deleting the word *unus* on the basis of the biblical reference.<sup>543</sup> Joseph Evangelisti, an Italian Capuchin friar and bishop of Meerut (India), proposed a more rigorous measure, namely to delete the whole sentence because of the bad interpretation of Eph 2:18. For, as argued, “we have access to the Father ... through the Son in the Holy Spirit”.<sup>544</sup> Both comments were listed in the *Emendationes*,<sup>545</sup> in which however other contributions were overlooked, e.g. by Bishop Tabera Araoz, who, in order to avoid confusion proposed *per Ipsum in uno Spiritu*.<sup>546</sup> Ironically, this was still confusing, as the subject of *Ipse* remained unspecified. During the Second Period itself, Cardinal Bea proposed to stress the unity of the faithful in accordance with the biblical text referred to, by adding “from whatever country we are”.<sup>547</sup> Ermenegildo Florit, archbishop of Florence (Italy), compared the “T.C.” (conciliar text) with the “T.B.” (biblical text) too, and brought forward that “per quem (i.e. instrumentaliter) in uno Spiritu” would be clearer.<sup>548</sup> Pablo Gúrpide Beope, bishop of Bilbao (Spain),

<sup>542</sup> Mullins claimed that the phrase on access to the Father went back to Bishop Daem (*AS* II/3, 189), Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 175. More probable is the provenance from the *Schema Chilensis*, see figure 6.

<sup>543</sup> *AS* II/1, 747. Welykyj (1918-1982) served during the Council as superior general of the Basilians of Saint Josaphat (OSBM) (1963-1976). He was the secretary of the Commission on the Oriental Churches both in the preparatory period and during the Council. See M. Quisinsky, “Welykyj, Athanasius Gregorius”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 287.

<sup>544</sup> *AS* II/1, 661.

<sup>545</sup> “Emendationes a Concilii Patribus scripto exhibitae super schema constitutionis Dogmaticae De Ecclesia”, *AS* II/1, 282-336, for LG 4, see 286-287.

<sup>546</sup> *AS* II/1, 730.

<sup>547</sup> *AS* II/2, 24. Cf. Eph 2:17, “et veniens (Christus, JM) evangelizavit pacem vobis qui longe fuistis et pacem his qui prope”.

<sup>548</sup> *AS* II/2, 159. Florit (1901-1985) was a member of the Preconciliar Commission for Bishops and the Doctrinal Commission, see M. Quisinsky, “Florit, Ermenegildo”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 107-108. His contribution was remarked by Philips and his team who recorded it on one of the small papers (“fiches”) that were used to process the interventions. They noted relevant comments on these pieces of paper. By

proposed to add *per Christum* so that it would be clear that the Spirit functions as “Christ’s instrument”.<sup>549</sup> Casimiro Morcillo Gonzalez, archbishop of Zaragoza (Spain), focused on the unspecific pronoun *quo*. As according to Scripture we have access to the Father through the Son, he wished the pronoun to be clearly referring to the Son and therefore proposed *per quem*,<sup>550</sup> a reference that ironically still did not mention the Son.

Another pneumatological change had to do with the Church. What made Philips replace indwelling with the Church (Schema 3), and thereby strengthen the ecclesiological perspective, and who were involved? Possibly, Cardinal Bea’s critique is behind this change. On October 3<sup>rd</sup>, he had commented: “After the work of Christ on earth follows immediately (*immediate transitus fit ad*) the work of our subjective redemption, for it mentions the mission of the Holy Spirit in the human *heart*. But first something should be said about Christ’s glorification and then something on the mission of the Holy Spirit towards the Church on the day of Pentecost”.<sup>551</sup> A few days earlier, the Orthodox observer Schmemmann had commented that LG 4 “limits itself to a description of the Spirit’s gifts to the individual” and pleaded for a more Church related pneumatology.<sup>552</sup> Had Bea taken note of this somewhat similar comment? In any case, although not using the exact words proposed by Bea, Schema 3 did accord with the ideas behind Bea’s proposal, namely to discuss the Church first. The new text on the Son in DE 3 indeed referred to Christ’s exaltation (albeit short),<sup>553</sup> and the next text on the Spirit in DE 4 spoke of the Spirit’s work in the Church instead of his work in the hearts of the faithful. One more reason for introducing a phrase on the Spirit’s sanctification of the Church may well be to harmonize the content of the article with its working title. While in Schema 2, article DE 4 was headed “on the Spirit sanctifying the Church” (see figure eight), it did not in fact speak about the Spirit’s sanctifying work, nor did it mention the Church.

---

organising these per article (noting at times also the topic of the intervention), they got a detailed overview of what was said on a specific section.

<sup>549</sup> AS II/2, 170-171. Full text: “Post verba «In quo uno Spiritu» addatur: «Per Christum» quia in opere sanctificationis Spiritus apparet velut Christi instrumentum”.

<sup>550</sup> AS II/2, 182-183.

<sup>551</sup> AS II/2, 24. The proposal to insert “et Christo glorificato, misit Deus paraclitum, Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre procedit” is somewhat puzzling as it neither speaks of the Church nor of Pentecost. Cf. a somewhat similar proposal by Jean-Julien Weber, Sulpician father and archbishop of Strasbourg (France), who suggested to add before *misit* a phrase on Christ’s death and resurrection and sending of the Spirit, AS II/1, 745.

<sup>552</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips no. 1050, 1, “Dans le § 4, on se borne à une description des dons de l’Esprit à l’individu. Or, la Pentecôte inaugure le nouvel «aion», la nouvelle créature. Il ne faut pas seulement décrire les dons de l’Esprit, mais montrer que l’Esprit est le contenu de la vie de l’Eglise”. This comment was made on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963. For a similar sentiment, see the 22 October 1963 comment by the Orthodox bishop and Scripture scholar Cassien Bezobrazov, rector of the Institut Saint-Serge (Paris); he complained that the links between the Spirit and the Church are not really clear, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1052, 1.

<sup>553</sup> Schema 3 was enlarged with John 12:32, “et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum”.

Philips did not follow the request of Anastasio Granados García, auxiliary bishop of Toledo (Spain), who recalled the Spirit's "double mission, one towards the Church and another towards the faithful, with the former being the root and foundation of the latter". Granados García therefore proposed another text, which mentioned the apostles in the first sentence: "Opere autem consummato (...), misit Deus promissum Spiritum Sanctum in apostolos ..., fundamentum Ecclesiae ..., ut ipsam iugiter vivificaret". The phrases on access to the Father and "the Spirit of life" he moved backwards, to fall under the heading of the Spirit's second, inner mission.<sup>554</sup>

Moreover, the word *credentes* was introduced. From a theological perspective, this may be interpreted as both mirroring the reference to the Church and interpreting it. However, it was probably simply introduced to connect the phrase on the sanctification of the Church and the phrase on return to the Father. As the Church cannot return to the Father, the word *credentes* was added.

Together with the introduction of a reference to the Spirit sanctifying the Church, Schema 3 (re)introduced a reference to Pentecost. The *Relationes de singulis numeris* explained the reference to Pentecost from the wish of the Council fathers: "several Council fathers have requested that the event of Pentecost be mentioned".<sup>555</sup> Even though the *Relatio* was not very precise in its references,<sup>556</sup> some Council fathers had indeed explicitly requested Pentecost to be mentioned.

The request was already made in the written reactions in anticipation of the Third Period. The Maronite patriarch Meouchi concluded his reflection on chapter one by stating – in French – that "l'aspect de la relation de l'Église à la Pentecôte n'est pas non plus suffisamment clair".<sup>557</sup> In a joint reaction archbishops and bishops from the West of France wished to develop in DE 4 the notion of the Church's mission to all humankind, and therefore proposed an alternative text in which Pentecost was mentioned.<sup>558</sup> Bishop Carli proposed to include in the first sentence that the Spirit was sent "into the

---

<sup>554</sup> AS II/1, 437. Cf. the Latin text, "Cum sermo fiat, et quidem promiscue, de duplici missione Spiritus Sancti, alter in Ecclesiam, alter vero in singulos fideles, quarum prior radix est ac fundamentum posterioris, sequentem proponere redactionem: «Opere autem consummato, quod Pater Christo *commiserat in terris personaliter peragendum* ..., misit Deus promissum Spiritum Sanctum in apostolos ..., fundamentum Ecclesiae ..., ut ipsam iugiter vivificaret. Quapropter in fidelibus et in Ecclesia Spiritus tamquam in templo inhabitat ... . Misit etiam (*etiam* indicates the second mission, JM) Deus Spiritus Filii in corda nostra ..., in quo uno Spiritu accessum habemus ad Patrem .... Ipse est Spiritus vitae etc.»"

<sup>555</sup> AS III/1, 172. The *Relatio* refers to E/520; E/535; *Animadversiones*, 29-30, E/616; E715.

<sup>556</sup> For E/520 = Thomas Cooray, Oblate of Mary and archbishop of Columbo (Ceylon), had not made any request on Pentecost, see AS II/2, 149. In addition, E/535 = Cardinal Jaime De Barros Câmara, archbishop of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), in the name of 153 bishops, did not himself make such a request but referred to the proposal by the archbishops and bishops of the Western apostolic region in France: "Further the Brazilian bishops support the proposal by the bishop of the West of France, page 8 line 30, where Pentecost is mentioned (=AS II/1, 770, included in the *Animadversiones*, 30)", AS II/1, 423.

<sup>557</sup> AS II/1, 694.

<sup>558</sup> AS II/1, 770, "Emendatio n. 4, pag. 8, lin. 30: «Ipse replet orbem terrarum et ille qui continet omnia scientiam habet vocis (Sap. 1,7). A die Pentecostes, Ecclesiam replevit per vocem apostolorum qui ad evangelizandum mundum missi sunt. Et nunc omnes christianos, fideles atque ministros, per Spiritum Sanctum ad mundum missos, inspirat ...»".



Church”, with a reference to Acts 2:4. He argued that “otherwise Pentecost, the birth of the Church as such, would nowhere in the schema be mentioned”, although ironically the word Pentecost was not part of his proposal for an alternative text.<sup>559</sup> Pentecost was also mentioned in various other written contributions.<sup>560</sup>

During the Third Period itself the request to mention Pentecost was voiced a few times. Cardinal Jaime De Barros Câmara, archbishop of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), subscribed in the name of 153 bishops to the written amendment by a group of Council fathers from the West of France.<sup>561</sup> The next day, Cardinal Confalonieri argued that “if the mind of the Council will be to give a fuller definition of the Church, it seems one cannot forego to consider the fact of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and to insert it into our schema, on a more fitting place, in a concise manner”.<sup>562</sup> In addition he referred to the Council as a new Pentecost. Several others loosely mentioned Pentecost. Bishop Trindade wished DE 2-4 to be rewritten in such a way that the proper role of each of the divine persons was better highlighted. His alternative text for DE 4 opened, “After Christ’s work was fulfilled, God sent on Pentecost day the Holy Spirit”.<sup>563</sup> The Italian Episcopal Conference repeated the proposal by Bishop Carli, again without in their own proposal explicitly mentioning Pentecost.<sup>564</sup>

In the light of these comments, the *Relatio* correctly stated that the introduction of Pentecost corresponded to a wish of the Council fathers. However, the content of the new statement can hardly be said to correspond to the wishes of the Council fathers without further qualification. While Philips opted for an unspecified and therefore not-hierarchy centered understanding of Pentecost, some Council fathers had something different in mind. When Felice Bonomini, bishop of Como (Italy), explained that from Pentecost “the Church takes its origin, by the preaching of Peter in the presence of the (other, JM) apostles”,<sup>565</sup> he clearly conceived Pentecost in a hierarchy-centered manner. Cardinal Confalonieri and Bishop McEleney spoke in a similar way.<sup>566</sup>

---

<sup>559</sup> AS II/1, 630. Cf. full text, “dicerem: « .... Filii sui in Ecclesiam (cf. Act. 2,4) et in corda nostra ». Secus nullibi in toto schemate haberetur mentio Pentecostes, scil. nativitatis Ecclesiae uti talis”.

<sup>560</sup> Cf. also the remarks by John McEleney, Jesuit, and bishop of Kingston (Jamaica). In relation to the hierarchy-related article DE 18 he remarked that the link between the apostolic and pneumatic missions should be elaborated better. He also complained that Pentecost had such a marginal place in the Schema, and added that this should be changed. AS II/1, 691. Cf. the illustrative Latin clause: “dolendum est quam exiliter exponatur”.

<sup>561</sup> AS II/1, 423. The Brazilian bishops seem to be mistaken, for the French bishops mainly spoke about the universality of the Church’s mission, cf. AS II/1, 770.

<sup>562</sup> AS II/2, 16-17.

<sup>563</sup> AS II/2, 152, “Opere Christi consummato, misit Deus Pentecostes die Spiritum Sanctum”.

<sup>564</sup> AS II/2, 212, “... misit Deus Spiritum Filii in totam Ecclesiam (cf. Act. 2,4) et in corda uniuscuiusque nostrum”.

<sup>565</sup> AS II/1, 400, cf. the Latin, “Maxime recolatur mysterium Pentecostes, de quo Ecclesia ortum duxit, praedicante Petro et praesentibus apostolis”.

<sup>566</sup> Confalonieri, see AS II/2, 16-17; for Bonomi, see AS II/1, 691. Bonomi spoke of the “nexum intimum inter missionem apostolicam et missionem pneumaticam, utramque ortum suum ducentem a Christo mittente”, thus implying that Pentecost

The French proposal that the Brasilians referred to subtly differed from this view for it first specified as beneficiaries the apostles but then included all Christians: “He fulfills the earth (...). From the day of Pentecost, He has filled the Church through (*per*) the voice of the apostles, who were sent to evangelize the world. And now He inspires all christians, faithful and ministers, sent to the world by (*per*) the Holy Spirit,....”.<sup>567</sup> This had also been the understanding of the *Schema Chilensis* when it mentioned Pentecost. In the article on the Holy Spirit, Pentecost was linked especially with the hierarchy (see figure six), but in a later chapter on “the Christian people” the schema specified that “all christians have received the Pentecost-Spirit, who has infused them with the virtue of preaching, testifying and cooperating to build the Church”.<sup>568</sup>

In some cases the exact addressee of the Pentecost Spirit remained unspecified. Patriarch Meouchi stated only that “the aspect of the relationship of the Church to Pentecost is not sufficiently clear”.<sup>569</sup> So did Cardinal Bea, who linked Pentecost to the *discipuli*, which might mean the apostles or, slightly more probably, all disciples.<sup>570</sup> Bishop Trindade’s alternative introductory line did not specify an addressee either but seemed to imply as addressee the people of God.<sup>571</sup>

Schema 3 did not specify an addressee except for the unspecified addressee, the Church.<sup>572</sup> Probably this had to do both with editorial and theological choices. The editorial choice was to (re)locate the material to the relevant chapter. For example, in Schema 3 the reference to “Peter and the apostles” was moved from the article on the Son (DE 3) and relocated into the third chapter, on the hierarchy (cf. the 4 times 2 structure discussed in chapter 2.1). Quite possibly this concern influenced the redaction of LG 4 as well. In that case, the editorial choice to treat material in the relevant articles implied an ecclesiological choice, namely to conceive the Church at this moment primarily as a theological reality, not yet as a hierarchical one. According to that logic, the absence of a specific addressee in relation to Pentecost reflects an editorial choice as much as an ecclesiological one.

---

was an apostle-centered affair. Bishop Carli and the Italian episcopal conference probably had a hierarchy-centered understanding of Pentecost as well, cf. the “double mission” structure of their statement and the traditionalist background of Carli.

<sup>567</sup> AS II/1, 770.

<sup>568</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 123, esp. note 3b.

<sup>569</sup> AS II/1, 694. Cf. Bishop Daem who, in response to Schema 1, had elaborated a brief new version (*synthesis*) of chapter one, in which not only the role of Christ was highlighted but also the Spirit’s. He stated that the gift of the Spirit, given at Pentecost, was the “elementum primum et constitutivum novae societatis”, AS I/4, 450. Cf. Elchinger who in a late written reaction to Schema 1 had referred to Pentecost in his proposal for a new text, AS II/1, 509 and 517, 509: “Elle (the Church, JM) est animée par l’Esprit du Christ qui l’a « lancée » à la Pentecôte et la « conduit » dans son expansion”.

<sup>570</sup> AS II/2, 24.

<sup>571</sup> AS II/2, 152, cf. “Opere Christi consummato, misit Deus Pentecostes die Spiritum Sanctum ut novus Israel, sanguine Christi acquisitus, in populum Dei aedificaretur (cf. Act. Ap., cap. II)”.

<sup>572</sup> The fact that the Church and the *credentes* are linked does not imply an inclusive conception of the Church. A preconiliar mind would explain that the faithful are granted access to God through the hierarchy and the (hierarchical) Church.

Various other changes had less weight. In Schema 2, the Latin ciphers were replaced by Arab ones, and an extra comma was added after *Opere consummato*. In Schema 3, the word *Christo* was replaced with the word *Filio*.<sup>573</sup> This minor change probably went back to the proposal by the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic father Athanase Welykyj, who in a preliminary written reaction to Schema 2 had made this suggestion,<sup>574</sup> quite possibly for editorial reasons, because the word Son is more consistent with Father than Christ. Further, Schema 3 changed the active formula “God sent the Spirit of his Son” into a passive one in which it remained unspecified who sent the Spirit. Was this done in order not to exclude the Son from the sending of the Spirit, as the previous formula implicitly did? The change does not have too much pneumatological significance, as the sentence still starts from and ends with the Father and the Son. In addition, in Schema 3 the word “Spirit of the Son” was replaced by Holy Spirit. This is interesting as the title Spirit of the Son was typical for Christ-centred theology, so that this change could point to a more distinct role of the Spirit, that was not tied to Christ’s. However, it is not certain that the change had this significance. Finally Tromp’s Council diary reveals that at the last moment, when the improved Schema 3 was discussed in the full Doctrinal Commission in late November 1963, the word *iugiter* was added: “so that the Spirit would continually (*iugiter*) sanctify the Church”. This was a symbolic change to satisfy Tromp. For Tromp had wished to replace the word sanctify with strengthen (*roborare*), to stress that Easter had already been of sanctifying importance for the Church. The word *iugiter* thus meant to say that the Spirit’s sanctifying work was not the first moment of sanctification for the Church. However, as this nuance barely changed the meaning of the text, it seems to have been a more or less symbolic change.<sup>575</sup>

In conclusion, while a textual core on the Spirit as sent and on return to the Father was preserved, the text of sentence 1 developed into a more salvation-historical, more trinitarian and more ecclesiological text. These developments were inspired by different yet overlapping motives. Four major motives are the following: the editorial motive for an improved flow of the text; the editorial motive for an improved Scriptural accuracy; the conciliar motive of heeding the wishes of the Council fathers; and theological choices by the editors. In addition, various actors were involved: from the Commission of Seven, presumably by its experts, to the Council fathers, to the editors of the text and the Doctrinal Commission. The overlap between various motives makes it imperative to be somewhat cautious on pneumatological changes. For did the new introductory phrase reflect trinitarian or

---

<sup>573</sup> AS II/1, 747. The suggestion was included in the overview of written *Emendationes* handed out together with the Schema during the Second Period, on September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, see AS II/1, 286.

<sup>574</sup> AS II/1, 747, “melior esset disiunctio: «Pater *Filio* commisit», quam illa proposita: «Pater *Christo*»”.

<sup>575</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 339. “Secr. (=Tromp, JM) rogat ut dicatur loco «ut Sp. St. Ecclesiam sanctificaret» «ut roboraret». Iam antea Apostoli et B.M.V. (Mary, JM) erant sanctificati et in Paschate iam datus fuit Sp. Stus (Holy Spirit, JM) in remissionem peccatorum. Loquuntur P. Häring et Congar, dein McGrath et Philips. 6.15 Deciditur ut legatur «*iugiter* sanctificaret»”.

editorial concerns? And similarly, the unspecified use of Pentecost reflected primarily an ecclesiological and editorial concern, not a pneumatological conviction.

## Sentence 2. Source of Life and Resurrection

The second introductory sentence highlights the Spirit as Spirit of life. Figure thirteen gives an overview of its development. What is crossed out was deleted and what is underlined was added.

<i>Schema Chilensis</i>	February Philips S'	March Philips S'	Schema 2	Schema 3
Ipse est Spiritus vitae (Apoc. 11,11. Cfr. Gen. 2,7; Ez. 37,5,10) novae creationis, aqua viva saliens in vitam aeternam (Joh. 4,14), quae mortuos peccato resuscitat cum Christo (Rom. 8,10s.).	Ipse est Spiritus vitae <del>(Apoc. 11,11. Cfr. Gen. 2,7; Ez. 37,5,10) novae creationis,</del> <u>seu</u> aqua viva saliens in vitam aeternam (cfr Joh. <u>4 IV</u> , 14), <del>quae</del> qui <u>homines</u> peccato mortuos <del>eum</del> in Christo resuscitat (cfr Rom. <u>8 VIII</u> , 10 ss.).	Ipse est Spiritus vitae  seu aqua <del>viva</del> saliens in vitam aeternam (cfr Jo. IV, 14), qui homines peccato mortuos in Christo resuscitat (cfr Rom. VIII, 10 ss.).	Ipse est Spiritus vitae  seu aqua saliens in vitam aeternam (cfr <del>Jo IV</del> <u>4</u> , 14),  <u>per quem Pater</u> homines peccato mortuos in Christo resuscitat (cfr <del>Rom. VIII</del> <u>8</u> , 10 ss.).	Ipse est Spiritus vitae  seu <u>fons aquae salientis</u> in vitam aeternam (cf. Io 4, 14; <u>7, 38-39</u> ), per quem Pater homines, peccato mortuos, <u>vivificat, donec eorum mortalia corpora</u> in Christo resuscitet (cf. Rom. 8, 10- <u>11ss</u> ).
Ipse est de quo dixerunt Prophetiae: «Et dabo vobis cor novum et spiritum novum ponam in medio vestri; .....» (Ez. 36,26s.; 2 Cor. 3,3), atque ... Dabo legem meam in visceribus eorum, et in corde eorum scribam eam ...» (Jer. 31,33; Heb.10,16)	<del>Ipse est de quo dixerunt Prophetiae: «Et dabo vobis cor novum et spiritum novum ponam in medio vestri; etc ...»</del>			

**Figure 13.** The development of sentence 2. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new.

It shows both remarkable continuity and substantial change. All text versions speak of the Spirit of life, use the comparison with water, relate the Holy Spirit to sin and resurrection, and refer to John 4 and Rom 8. Thus the development of the sentence underlines once again the importance of the Chilean schema. However, while Philips maintained the theme of life, he considerably shortened the Chilean text. He deleted the three Scripture references as well as the words *novae creationis* that followed the opening words *Ipse est Spiritus vitae*, and left out two substantial quotes from Ezechiel and Jeremiah. In doing so, Philips reduced the scope of the Spirit's involvement, especially in relation to spiritual and ethical renewal. In Schema 2, Philips reduced the role of the Spirit further by transferring the authorship of resurrection to the Father, who was said to carry it out through (*per*) the Spirit. Conversely, the number of activities that the Spirit was related to was developed by adding *vivificat*. Thereby Schema 3 distinguished the eschatological resurrection from life here and now. The word

echoes the opening phrase on the Spirit as Spirit of life although now the author of life is the Father, not the Spirit. Thus, while a substantial pneumatological core was maintained, the sentence also reduced the role of the Spirit. What is behind these developments?

In the first place, in taking away the long elaborations of the Chilean text, Philips probably wished to reduce the size of the text. As we have seen, shortening the text is a key characteristic of Philips' reception of the Chilean text (see chapter 5.3). Secondly, in transferring the authorship of resurrection from the Son to the Father, Philips probably followed the Irish Franciscan and Council *peritus* Alexander Kerrigan, a former student of the Leuven faculty of theology.<sup>576</sup> As Tromp noted in his diary, during the early March 1963 gathering of the Doctrinal Commission, Scripture scholar Kerrigan criticised the use of Rom 8:10.<sup>577</sup> The Philips archive contains a note with amendments by Kerrigan in reaction to the February Philips Schema that provides further information. Kerrigan pointed out that according to Rom 8, it is not the Spirit who vivifies but rather the Father. Figure fourteen below shows that indeed the Vulgate considers *qui suscitavit Iesum a mortuis* as the author of life, with the context indicating that this is not the Spirit but rather the Father.<sup>578</sup> Probably in answer to these comments, Philips replaced *qui* with *per quem Pater*.<sup>579</sup> The result is a sentence with greater Scriptural accuracy yet with a theologically somewhat confusing logic. For who is the author of life: the "Spirit of life", or the Father who "through him" brings life?

February Philips Schema	Schema 2	Schema 3	Rom. 8,10-11
qui homines peccato mortuos	<u>per quem Pater</u> homines peccato mortuos	per quem Pater homines, peccato mortuos, <u>vivificat, donec eorum mortalia</u> <u>corpora</u>	(10) Si autem Christus in vobis est, corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus vero vita propter iustificationem. (11) Quod si Spiritus eius qui suscitavit Iesum a mortuis habitat in vobis, qui <b>suscitavit</b> Iesum Christum a mortuis <b>vivificabit</b> et mortalia corpora vestra propter inhabitantem Spiritus eius in vobis.
in Christo <b>resuscitat</b> (cfr Rom., VIII, 10 ss.)	in Christo <b>resuscitat</b> (cfr. Rom. <del>VIII</del> <u>8</u> , 10 ss.).	in Christo <b>resuscitet</b> (cf. Rom. 8, 10- <del>11</del> <u>ss</u> ).	

**Figure 14.** The introduction of the reference to the Father and the verb *vivificat*. Bold: texts in common with Rom. 8. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new.

<sup>576</sup> Kerrigan (1911-1986), a Scripture scholar, had made his thesis in Leuven, under Lucien Cerfaux. A professor of Scripture in Rome, he had been a consultant of the Preconciliar Theological Commission.

<sup>577</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 271, "Deinde incipit discussio num. 3. P. Kerrigan putat non probare Rom. 8,10".

<sup>578</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 650, 3-4, "Rom. 8,10ss. Agunt de resurrectione eschatologica (vivificabit). Qui autem mortalia nostra corpora vivificabit", after which Kerrigan corrects his own notes; initially, he writes "est Spiritus", later "est potius Pater, sc. ille qui ipsum Christum suscitavit", with a list of Scripture references. The latter phrase refers to Rom 8, see figure fourteen.

<sup>579</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 598, where the text is corrected.

Scriptural accuracy was probably also the reason for introducing a new verb, *vivificat*, and thereby distinguishing life here and now from eschatological life.<sup>580</sup> In fact, Kerrigan had already commented on this during the drafting process of Schema 2. He noted that “Romans 8:10f is about the eschatological resurrection” and therefore changed the word and the tense, *vivificabit*.<sup>581</sup> The scribbled “bi” (cf. *resuscitabit*, JM) in the margins of two early March text versions demonstrate that Philips did consider the future tense.<sup>582</sup> But on the first of these he had also noted “plutôt resuscitat”. Schema 2 remained as it was in this respect, but not Schema 3. The *Relatio de singulis numeris* explained that the Scripture text distinguished between “spiritual vivification and corporal resurrection” and mentioned Ruffini as source.<sup>583</sup> During the Second Period, Cardinal Ruffini had indeed observed that Rom 8:10-11 did not speak about the spiritual death of sin but the physical death of the body which, as figure fourteen shows, is a correct observation.<sup>584</sup> The *Relatio* could also have referred to Archbishop Florit, who had made a similar remark.<sup>585</sup> Ironically however, the new text still differed from the Vulgate text. For whereas the latter distinguished Christ’s resurrection from the vivification of the faithful, Schema 3 linked both verbs to the faithful.

Besides these two major changes the text underwent some minor changes. The comparison between water and the Spirit was subtly improved in three rounds. In the February Schema, Philips corrected the grammar by adding *seu* and changing the relative pronoun *quae* into *qui*, so that it was clear that the sentence was on the Spirit, not on the water. These were editorial improvements of the accuracy of the text. Next, as figure fifteen on the next page shows, the reference to John 4 was subtly improved by adding *fons*. The *Relatio* linked this change to Cardinal Bea (E/558) and Dino Romoli, Dominican and bishop of Pescia (Italy) (E/607), but their comments are in fact hardly relevant. Bea’s critique was that the text was not about the Holy Spirit at all but about the spirit (minuscule), and Romoli only suggested to change *seu* into *tamquam*.<sup>586</sup> Instead the phrase was probably taken from Thomas Cooray, Oblate of Mary, and archbishop of Colombo (Sri Lanka), who proposed that “instead of *aqua saliens* it should be written *fons aquae salientis*”,<sup>587</sup> which is exactly what the new text said. Cooray took these words probably from the Vulgate, as figure fifteen shows.

---

<sup>580</sup> Mullins referred to Lokuang’s intervention (*AS* II/1, 685), see Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 177. The Vulgate is a more probable source, see figure fourteen.

<sup>581</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 650, 3.

<sup>582</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 598 and no. 599.

<sup>583</sup> *AS* III/1, 172.

<sup>584</sup> *AS* II/1, 393.

<sup>585</sup> *AS* II/2, 159: “T.B. (Textus Biblicus, JM) Rom. 8, 10f. loquitur directe de morte physica, non de morte spirituali”.

<sup>586</sup> For Bea, see *AS* II/2, 21: “Aliquando etiam textus Sacrae Scripturae *perperam* afferuntur. Ita ... v. g. ubi spiritus comparatur cum aqua viva saliente in vitam aeternam, *qui non est Spiritus Sanctus*”. For Romoli, see *AS* II/2, 193: “verbo «seu» supponatur verbum «tamquam» (...) Ratio: «aqua saliens in vitam aeternam» non est Spiritus vitae (...) sed est allegoria ipsius Spiritus”.

<sup>587</sup> *AS* II/1, 149.

Schema 2	Schema 3	John 4,14	John 7,37-39
Spiritus vitae seu aqua saliens in vitam aeternam (cf. Io 4, 14)	Spiritus vitae seu <u>fons</u> aquae <u>salientis</u> in vitam aeternam (cf. Io 4, 14; <u>7, 38-39</u> )	Respondit <b>Iesus</b> et dixit ei: ... «aqua quam dabo ei fiet in eo <b>fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam</b> ».	(37) In novissimo autem die magno festivitatis stabat Iesus et clamabat dicens «si quis sitit veniat ad me et bibat; (38) qui credit in me sicut dixit scriptura <b>flumina</b> de ventre eius fluent <b>aquae vivae</b> ». (39) Hoc autem dixit (Iesus, JM) <b>de Spiritu</b> quem accepturi erant credentes in eum non enim erat Spiritus quia Iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus.

**Figure 15.** The development of two Scripture references. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new. Bold: significant words in the Scripture references.

In addition Schema 3 added another Scripture reference, John 7:38-39, probably for reasons of scriptural accuracy too. For as figure fifteen also shows, the *fons aquae* in John 4 was more about Jesus than the Holy Spirit, whereas in John 7:37-39 “living water” is actually understood in relation to the Spirit.

Various Council fathers had made suggestions in this direction. In his preliminary reaction to Schema 2 Bishop Tabera Araoz briefly remarked, without further comment, “John 7:38 should also be quoted”.<sup>588</sup> In his written intervention during the second Period itself, Archbishop Florit also suggested that John 7:37-39 was perhaps a better text.<sup>589</sup> The Relatio did not comment on the change but it seems probably that Schema 3 followed these suggestions, except for leaving out John 7:37 and thereby somewhat violating the unity of verses 37-39, possibly because only verses 38 and 39 were needed.

Finally, there are various minor changes. In his February Schema, Philips added *homines* and nuanced the references to John and Romans by adding *cf.* In addition, Schema 3 added a comma before and after *peccato mortuos*. Probably these changes were made to improve the accuracy of the references and the legibility of the text.

In conclusion, all along the redaction history of sentence two the Spirit was called the Spirit of life, yet the meaning of that proposition changed as the role of the Holy Spirit was reduced both in breadth and theological significance. For although the Spirit’s involvement was enlarged to include eschatological as well as spiritual life, the spiritual and ethical considerations of the Chilean text were deleted. In addition, the author of that life was no longer the Spirit but the Father. In reducing the size

<sup>588</sup> AS II/1, 730. The *Emendationes* seem to have missed this proposal. The presence of a small paper (“fiche”) with this text shows that Philips did not miss it.

<sup>589</sup> AS II/2, 159. He noted that John 4:14 was not about Christ but about the faithful, in whom Christ’s water would become a stream of living water. In fact the text was also about Christ, which constituted a problem for using it in relation to the Spirit. Yet already in March 1963, Kerrigan had wished that the phrase on the Spirit of life would be enlarged with a reference to John 7:37f., CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 650, 3. That suggestion was not followed in Schema 2.

of the text, Philips seems to have been driven mainly by editorial concerns. In the case of various other changes, including the significant transfer of authorship to the Father, it is certain that a concern for Scriptural accuracy is the main motive. As we have seen, a range of persons was involved in the development of this sentence: Council periti, Council fathers, the Doctrinal Commission, and Philips himself.

### Sentence 3. Indwelling, Prayer and Adoptive Sonship

LG 4's third sentence marks the transition from the first two introductory sentences to a series of sentences specifying the Spirit's activities (sentences 3-6). This proposes three such activities, viz. indwelling, prayer and giving testimony of adoptive sonship. Figure sixteen gives an overview of the development of the sentence from the February Philips Schema onwards. What is crossed out was deleted, what is underlined was added, and italics indicate that the order was changed.

February Philips Schema	March Philips Schema	Schema 2	Schema 3
In fidelibus et in Ecclesia	In fidelibus et in Ecclesia	In fidelibus et in Ecclesia	<u>Spiritus in Ecclesia et in</u> <u>cordibus fidelium</u>
tamquam in templo habitat,	tamquam in templo habitat,	tamquam in templo habitat ( <u>cf.</u> <u>1 Cor. 3, 16; 6, 19; Eph. 2, 22;</u> <u>1 Pt. 2, 5).</u> <del>Ipso operante, ut sint</del>	tamquam in templo habitat (cf. 1 Cor. 3, 16; 6, 19; <del>Eph. 2, 22;</del> <del>1 Pt. 2, 5).</del>
ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu (cfr Eph., II, 20).	<u>Ipso operante</u> , ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu (cfr Eph., II, 20).	<del>omnes superaedificati super</del> <del>fundamentum Apostolorum,</del> <del>ipso summo angulari lapide</del> <del>Christo Iesu (cfr Eph. II, 20);</del> ....	<u>in eisque orat et testimonium</u> <u>adoptionis filiorum reddit (cf.</u> <u>Gal. 4, 6; Rom. 8, 15 et 26).</u>

**Figure 16.** The development of sentence three. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new. Italics: order changed.

Figure sixteen shows that, apart from the topic of indwelling “as in a temple” that was preserved, most of the sentence changed. The sentence on indwelling was enriched in Schema 2 with supporting Scripture references, the number of which was reduced in Schema 3. Further, Philips deleted in Schema 2 the phrase on the apostles and Christ so that the sentence’s pneumatology lost its focus on the hierarchy. In Schema 3, the spiritual aspect of the Spirit’s involvement in the Church was strengthened when the editors added two other spiritual aspects, namely prayer in the faithful and giving testimony of their adoptive sonship. Moreover, the word order in the opening changed, so that the Spirit was first said to dwell in the Church, followed by the faithful. What is behind these changes?

The list of new Scripture references featured for the first time in an unidentified typewritten note kept in the Philips archive, which reads: “le thème de l’Église-temple (in the margin: *aedificio*, JM) se trouve entre autre (sic!) dans: 1.Cor. 3,10-16; 2 Cor. 6,16-18; Eph. 2,14,20-21; ~~4,10-15; Hebr.~~



8,1-2; Ia Pt. 2,4-10; ~~Apoc. 21,1; 22,1~~”, with several references crossed out and 2 Cor 6:16-18 corrected to 1 Cor 6:19.<sup>590</sup> As the overview in figure seventeen below shows, the list included in this note clearly served as source for the two references included in Schema 3.

Archive Philips, no. 665	5-6 March DC meeting	Schema 2	Schema 3
1 Cor. 3, 10-16; 2 Cor. 6, 16-18; <b>1 Cor. 6, 19</b> Eph. 2, 14, 20-21; 4, 10-15; Hebr. 8, 1-2; 1 Pt. 2, 4-10; Apoc. 21, 1; 22, 1.	<b>1 Cor. 3, 16;</b> <b>1 Cor. 6, 19;</b> Eph. 2, 22;  1 Pt. 2, 5.	<b>1 Cor. 3, 16;</b> <b>1 Cor. 6, 19;</b> Eph. 2, 22;  1 Pt. 2, 5.	<b>1 Cor. 3, 16;</b> <b>1 Cor. 6, 19.</b>

**Figure 17.** The development of the Scripture references in relation to indwelling. Bold: similar text in all versions.

The references were first introduced into the text during the deliberations of the Doctrinal Commission on the improved 1-3 Philips draft, on March 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>591</sup> On a copy of this draft, the references were noted in the margins of the text; at the same time the phrases on the apostles and Christ were crossed out. Were the references added to substantiate the only remaining phrase by providing scriptural background?

The editing of the list, which had already started in the document recorded as CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 665, continued. In a first phase, the very large reference to 1 Peter 2:4-10 was replaced with a more specific one, 1 Peter 2:5. Next, in preparation for Schema 3, two of the four Scripture references were deleted. This was probably done because the Eph 2 and the 1 Peter 2 references were less relevant. For although the texts of these references include the word temple or *domus spiritalis*, both texts are strictly speaking not about indwelling but about being built up into a temple of the Lord. In Eph 2:22, Paul talks about the Christian person as a temple, and 1 Peter 2:5 is about the community as spiritual house. This analysis is confirmed by the fact that both references were added to article DE 6 on images of the Church.<sup>592</sup>

What is the background of the development of the sentence on the apostles and Christ? A closer consideration of the redaction history makes it clear that it was inevitable for it to be deleted. For originally, the phrase functioned in a context of the mystical body, in which such a hierarchy-centered phrase made sense. When Philips integrated the phrase into his late february draft, it was placed in a new, pneumatological context in which this type of reference to the hierarchy was less

<sup>590</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 665. In reaction to Schema 2, Bishop Tabera Araoz had wished that “Rom. 8:11 should also be quoted”, a wish that went unheeded, probably because it was not directly related to indwelling, and possibly because the reference was already part of the previous sentence of LG 4, see *AS II/1*, 730.

<sup>591</sup> Cf. CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 598, that is, the 1-3 draft discussed in the Doctrinal Commission on March 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, with all sorts of notes scribbled in the margins, amongst which “1 Cor. 3,16; 6,19; Eph. 2,22; 1 Pt. 2,5”.

<sup>592</sup> See *AS III/1*, 163. Archbishop Florit had commented that 1 Pt. 2:5 was not about a temple of the Holy Spirit but a spiritual house, *AS II/2*, 160. In my view, a better reason to delete the 1 Peter reference is that it about the Church, not about indwelling.

fitting. Figure eighteen below gives an overview of the development of the phrase from Philips' first October 1962 draft, via the February 20<sup>th</sup> schema, to February 27<sup>th</sup> draft.<sup>593</sup> Texts that feature in all versions are in bold, and I have added the letters (a) – (d).

Schema Philips October (First)	February Philips Schema (20-2)	February Philips Schema (27-2)
<p>4. De mysterio Corporis Christi</p> <p>(a) Spiritus enim Sanctus <b>in</b> cordibus fidelium <b>et in</b> Ecclesia <b>tamquam in templo habitat,</b></p> <p>(b) <b>ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum,</b></p> <p>(c) <b>ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu,</b></p> <p>(d) in quo omnis aedificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino <b>(Eph. 2,20 ss).</b></p>	<p>4. De Mysterio Corporis Christi</p> <p>(a) Spiritus enim Sanctus <b>in</b> cordibus fidelium <b>et in</b> Ecclesia <b>tamquam in templo habitat,</b></p> <p>(b) <b>ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum apostolorum,</b></p> <p>(c) «<b>ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu,</b></p> <p>(d) in quo omnis aedificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino» <b>(cfr Eph., II, 20).</b></p>	<p>3. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante</p> <p>(a) <b>In</b> fidelibus <b>et in</b> Ecclesia <b>tamquam in templo habitat,</b></p> <p>(b) <b>ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum,</b></p> <p>(c) <b>ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu</b></p> <p><b>(cfr Eph., II, 20).</b></p>

**Figure 18.** The development of the sentence on indwelling. Bold: similar text in all versions.

The overlap between the three versions supports my earlier contention that Philips used not only the Chilean text but also some text fragments from his own earlier text. However, figure eighteen also shows that the context of the sentence changed dramatically. As the working titles of the October Philips text and the Schema from February 20<sup>th</sup> indicate, the sentence was part of a reflection on the mystical body. That reflection was placed after an opening article on the Father, a second article on the People of God and a third one on Christ's presence in the Church. In it, Philips explained the mystery of the body of Christ from (amongst others) the presence of the Spirit in the faithful, who together constitute the mystical body.

At that time, as figure eighteen illustrates as well, the sentence contained a fourth phrase, that would not make it into the February Philips Schema. By means of an *ut*-clause, the Spirit's indwelling in faithful and Church (a) was related with an effect, being built on the apostles (b), and with two sentences on an ultimate reality: Christ the corner stone (c) and the temple in the Lord (d).<sup>594</sup> That is a

<sup>593</sup> For the three versions, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 421, 5; no. 592, 3-4; no. 595, 3. Cf. the other October 1962 draft, no. 425.

<sup>594</sup> Full text of the draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 592, no. 4, 3-4: "4. De Mysterio Corporis Christi. Mysterium sapientiae Dei in hac Spiritus praesentia et intima cum Christo unione per Ecclesiam revelatur et dispensatur (cfr Eph., III, 9-10). Spiritus enim Sanctus in cordibus fidelium et in Ecclesia tamquam in templo habitat, ut sint omnes superaedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, «ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu, in quo omnis aedificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino» (cfr Eph., II, 20). Vita Christi resuscitati in membra Ecclesiae diffunditur, ut cum Christo unum corpus efficiant, qui de uno pane omnes participant (cfr 1 Cor., X,17). Quapropter Ecclesia mystice vocatur Christi corpus, ad cuius aedificationem Ipse pastores et doctores pro opere ministerii instituit, ut veritatem facientes

puzzling statement, for how are the Spirit's indwelling, apostles, Christ and temple-in-the-Lord related? Indeed, the Ephesians text only spoke of the faithful who, being built on the apostles and Christ the corner stone "in whom the building grows into a holy temple in the Lord", were themselves built into a "habitaculum Dei in Spiritu".<sup>595</sup> It did not have an opening phrase on the Spirit's indwelling (phrase a) but rather on being no strangers but part of the household of God (Eph 2:19), and it did not end with the "templum sanctum in Domino" (phrase d = Eph 2:21) but rather with a phrase on the "habitaculum Dei in Spiritu" (Eph 2:22).

The context of the argument offers clarification, and this clarification in turn explains why the sentences (b), (c) and (d) were in subsequent drafts deleted. For by talking about indwelling Philips tried to consider in a subtly new way "the mystery of the body of Christ", as the article's title read. Rather than arguing with the somewhat abstract notion of the Spirit as soul of the Church, he started from the Spirit's indwelling in the faithful, who thereby grow towards the "templum sanctum in Domino". By explicitly mentioning the hierarchical element (phrase b), Philips avoided an error highly feared in preconciliar (magisterial) ecclesiology: an ecclesiology which left out the hierarchical element. Thus, by mentioning alongside the Spirit's indwelling in all also the topics of Church's hierarchical foundation, Christ the corner stone and "temple in the Lord", Philips tried to combine new and classical ecclesiology.

However, in his February draft, Philips moved the sentence from the context of the mystical body into the context of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, Philips deleted the phrase on the "templum sanctum in Domino" (phrase d). He could also have deleted the phrase on the apostles, which he did not need any more either, as he indeed considered shortly after he had finished the February 20<sup>th</sup> draft. For he marked this sentence and indicated on the side that he would include it in the new article on the Spirit that he was planning, yet without the phrases on Christ the cornerstone (c) and the temple in the Lord (d), which had been crossed out.<sup>596</sup> As we have seen in chapter 5.2, this plan, noted in the

---

in caritate, crescamus in Illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus (cfr Eph., IV, 12-15), et unam cum Illo societatem constituamus, per nexus et conjunctiones, etiam visibiles, subministratam (cfr Col., II, 19)". Cf. the somewhat shorter full text of the first October draft, CSVII no. 421: "4. De mysterio Corporis Christi. Mysterium Ecclesiae in hac Spiritus praesentia et intima cum Christo unione revelatur. Spiritus enim Sanctus in cordibus fidelium et in Ecclesia tanquam in templo habitat, ut sint omnes supraedificati super fundamentum Apostolorum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu, in quo omnis aedificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino (Eph., 2, 20). Vita Christi resuscitati in omnia membra Ecclesiae diffunditur, ut cum Christo unum corpus efficiant. Quapropter Ecclesia mystice vocatur Christi corpus, et monemur ut, veritatem facientes in caritate, crescemus in Illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus (Eph. 4,15)".

<sup>595</sup> The Vulgate text reads: "(19) Ergo iam non estis hospites et advenae sed estis cives sanctorum et domestici Dei, (20) supraedificati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum «ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu, (21) in quo omnis aedificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino» (22) in quo et vos coaedificamini in habitaculum Dei in Spiritu".

<sup>596</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 592 (draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>, with notes), 3-4.

margins, never made it into the text itself. For when Philips did finally include an article on the Spirit, he took it from the Chilean schema.

Figure eighteen shows that when Philips incorporated the sentence into the Chilean text, he dropped the last part of the sentence, on the temple in the Lord (phrase d). This made sense, although the new focus on the Spirit meant that not only the phrase on the hierarchy had become superfluous, but so too the phrase on Christ the cornerstone. Indeed, both phrases were crossed out on the copy Philips used during the deliberations of the Doctrinal Commission on the improved 1-3 Philips draft, on March 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>597</sup>

Especially the Belgian Jesuit and Council *peritus* Édouard Dhanis may have played a role, for in a note dated 7 March 1963, he criticised these phrases, especially the linking pronoun *ut*.<sup>598</sup> He pointed out that the logic was opposite to what the text stated: indwelling did not lead towards the hierarchical Church, but the Church is aimed at indwelling and what it prefigures: the *posessio Dei*.<sup>599</sup> This was a sharp theological observation that fitted in with the idea of conceiving the Church primarily in theological, not institutional terms. In addition, in his early March 1963 note, another expert, Kerrigan, had pointed out that Eph 2:20 was about Christ the cornerstone and wrote “spiritus” with a minuscule. He seemed to hint that it was better to delete the phrase from this section, as this article focused not on Christ, but on the Spirit.<sup>600</sup> These comments may have stimulated Philips to delete phrases b, c and d.

In short, the reference to the hierarchy was probably dropped mainly for editorial reasons. With the sentence’s dramatic shift of context, it was not necessary any more to talk about a “temple in the Lord” and to establish a link with the hierarchical Church. Yet Dhanis’ sharp theological observation may also have played a role. In addition, Philips could only move this topic to another, more Spirit-centered article because his new draft actually had such a section. As we have seen, the choice for a Spirit-centered article rooted both in theological considerations, in the fact that some had

---

<sup>597</sup> See CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 598, 3.

<sup>598</sup> Dhanis (1902-1978), a member of the Preconciliar Theological Commission and involved in the Doctrinal Commission, was the theological advisor of Jean-Baptiste Janssens, superior-general of the Jesuit order. Dhanis had been charged, in 1949, of the investigation into the works of Daniélou and de Lubac, which led to criticism of the new theology current at Lyon-Fourvière. See J. Mettepenningen, “Dhanis, Édouard”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 92.

<sup>599</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 614, “Illud «superaedificari super fundamentum Apostolorum» signat structuram hierarchicam Ecclesiae. Iamvero inhabitatio non ordinatur ad eam. Inhabitatio (...) est in fidelibus et in Ecclesia possessio quaedam anticipativa Dei et vitae aeternae. Ideo est finis ad quem structura Ecclesiae ordinatur. Propositio citata: «habitat ..., ut, etc.) videtur invertere ordinem finalitatis”. Tromp’s notes show that Dhanis had first made this intervention in spoken form, on March 6<sup>th</sup>, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 271.

<sup>600</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 650: “De Christo lapide angulari fit in Eph. 2,20. At ad operationem Spiritus Sancti forsitan non alluditur; expressio «in spiritu» significare potest quod influxus a Christo proveniens efficit ut «habituaculum Dei spirituale aedificetur»”.

proposed a text of this kind, and probably in the fact that an expert had recommended the text. Arguably therefore the editorial logic went together with a theological and conciliar one.

So far I have focused on the new Scripture references and the reference to the apostles and Christ that were dropped. Another important development was the introduction of the topics of prayer and adoptive sonship, with references to Gal 4:6 and Rom 8:15 and 26. Thus Schema 3 enlarged the scope of the Spirit's work in the Church. What made Schema 3 do so?

According to the explanation in the *Relationes de singulis numeris*, Cardinal Paul Richaud played an important role in introducing prayer: "Added (to the text, JM) is a mention of the Holy Spirit praying in the hearts of the faithful and giving testimony of sonship, as E/557 (= Richaud, JM) had requested".<sup>601</sup> Indeed, Richaud had deplored that in the first chapter little attention was paid to the "Ecclesia orans".

Yet the *Relatio* overstated its case. For neither had Richaud linked the notion of the praying Church with the Holy Spirit, indwelling and adoptive sonship (or with any other particular article or topic), nor had he mentioned specific Scriptural references.<sup>602</sup> Rather, as the Philips archive reveals, it was Philips who connected the topic of prayer mentioned by Richaud with the Holy Spirit. For on one of the so-called "fiches" or small notes on which Philips noted extracts from the addresses of the Council fathers in order to facilitate the processing of these, Philips wrote the name of Richaud and "the idea (*visio*) of the praying Church is lacking". He added that "perhaps this idea can be introduced in no. 4 on the Holy Spirit".<sup>603</sup> When Philips introduced the text into his draft, he linked the phrase with a reference to the Gal 4:6 on the Spirit of the Son who cries "Abba, Father". Probably, Philips wanted to provide the new phrase with a supporting Scripture reference. But as the reference was at the same time deleted from the opening sentence (see figure nine), Philips may possibly have wanted to preserve this prominent text as well.

The provenance of the proposition on adoptive sonship is less clear. The *Relatio* referred to Richaud, but he did not mention the topic.<sup>604</sup> Possibly, the written contribution of Bishop Wolff played a role. For in the name of twenty-nine other African bishops, Wolff welcomed the trinitarian introduction in DE 2-4, stressing the Spirit's "invisible mission" which, as he explained, allowed men (and women) to become "sons in the Son".<sup>605</sup> Therefore he suggested to change the opening lines of

---

<sup>601</sup> AS III/1, 172.

<sup>602</sup> Cf. the full text of his remark: "Non apparet sufficienter, ni fallor, in diversis numeris istius capitis schematis visio Ecclesiae orantis. Nam si Ecclesia, ut saepe saepius dicitur, Christi continuatio est, non possumus oblivisci quod Christus in terra diu noctuque oravit et nunc in caelo semper ad interpellandum pro nobis constituitur. Ergo Ecclesia manifestanda est quoque in sua functione praestantissima orationis, supplicationis, contemplationis, gratiarum denique actionis", AS II/2, 17-18. Earlier, on December 4, 1962, Cardinal Suenens had linked the praying Church to the liturgy, AS I/4, 223.

<sup>603</sup> Cf. CSVII, Archive Philips, Fiches LG 4, cf. Latin, "(introduci forsan potest haec idea n. 4 ubi de Sp.S)".

<sup>604</sup> AS III/1, 172 (*Relatio*) and AS II/2, 17-18 (Richaud).

<sup>605</sup> AS II/2, 203.

DE 4 by adding amongst others the Scripture line “in whom we cry Abba, Father (Rom. 8:16)”.<sup>606</sup> It is certain that Philips was aware of this intervention, for he referred to Wolff’s remarks on two of his notes.<sup>607</sup> Probably the reference to Rom 8:16 was checked and corrected – it should be Rom 8:15.<sup>608</sup>

Mullins suggested that “the phrase about the adoption of children may have been taken from (the Constitution on the liturgy) *Sacrosanctum Concilium*”,<sup>609</sup> which spoke in its theological introduction of the “the spirit of adoptive sonship”, with a reference to Rom 8:15.<sup>610</sup> The fact that *Sacrosanctum Concilium* writes “spiritum” with a minuscule and that the Constitution’s introduction is binitarian discredits the suggestion by Mullins. Or had Philips listened to the Spanish Bishop Juan Hervás y Benet, prelate of Ciudad Real?<sup>611</sup> In reaction to articles DE 5-6, Hervás y Benet had spoken of the Church as the house of God, with God as *Paterfamilias*, Christ as the First-born, and the Spirit as the one “who witnesses that we are sons of God”. Speaking also of the Church as tabernacle and temple of the Spirit, he had wished “that texts on the presence of God and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit be cited”.<sup>612</sup> In Schema 3, both topics were added into DE 6, precisely as Hervás y Benet had suggested. Did his suggestion also impact DE 4? Or was Kerrigan involved in this? For half a year earlier, in March 1963, during the drafting process of Schema 2, he had written that “the mission of the Holy Spirit (Gal. 4:6) is connected directly to the adoption as sons that we have received”.<sup>613</sup>

In addition, where did Rom 8:26 come from? Had it been introduced as a parallel text to Gal 4:6 – for both texts speak about the Spirit helping us in our prayer?<sup>614</sup> Or did Philips use the Schema

<sup>606</sup> AS II/2, 204.

<sup>607</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, Fiches LG 4.

<sup>608</sup> Cf. the Vulgate text: “(15) non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis iterum in timore sed accepistis Spiritum adoptionis filiorum in quo clamamus Abba Pater. (16) Ipse Spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro quod sumus filii Dei”.

<sup>609</sup> Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 179.

<sup>610</sup> SC 6: “Sic per Baptismum homines paschali Christi mysterio inseruntur: ... spiritum accipiunt adoptionis filiorum, «in quo clamamus: Abba, Pater» (Rom 8,15)”.

<sup>611</sup> Hervás y Benet (1905-1982) was a member of the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments both in preparation of and during the Council, and stood sympathetic towards the *Coetus internationalis patrum*, see Roy, *Le coetus internationalis patrum*, 1794, 1799.

<sup>612</sup> AS II/2, 174.

<sup>613</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 650. Cf. Elchinger who, in reaction to Schema 2, DE 3 (on the Son), suggested that after the phrase on Christ who came to save sinners (*ut peccatores salvos faceret*) should be added “et «adaptionem filiorum» eis praestaret (Gal., 4, 5)”, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 500, 5.

<sup>614</sup> Cf. the two texts:

Rom. 8:26	Gal. 4:6
[26] similiter autem et Spiritus adiuvat infirmitatem nostram nam quid oremus sicut oportet nescimus sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus.	[4] ubi venit plenitudo temporis misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere factum sub lege (5) ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus. (6) Quoniam autem estis filii misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamantem Abba Pater.

Chilensis as a source, which in one of the last sentences of the article on the Spirit stated that He “prays for us with indescribable groanings (Rom. 8,26)”?

Finally the text underwent some minor changes. In Schema 3, the addressees of the Spirit’s indwelling were inverted, so that the Church was mentioned first, not the faithful. Although this evokes certain ecclesiological presuppositions, this was probably done simply for editorial reasons. By placing the faithful second, the phrase connected better to the phrase on the Spirit praying in the faithful. In Schema 3 the word hearts was added as well. Possibly, Philips took it from the first sentence, where he deleted the word.<sup>615</sup>

The Subcommittee which prepared Schema 3 did not follow the wish to add after the words on indwelling a reference to the sacraments, as Cardinal Lercaro had wished.<sup>616</sup> Nor did the Subcommittee on the *modi* act on the *modus* by Archbishop Gennaro Verolino, secretary of the Congregation of Ceremonies, who wished to distinguish the indwelling in the Church and the faithful from one another.<sup>617</sup>

In conclusion, the pneumatology in this sentence developed in three ways. Firstly, the pneumatology of the sentence was better grounded in Scripture. Secondly, the proposition on indwelling was freed from the framework of the mystical body and the hierarchical Church, probably for editorial motives, that however had theological roots. Thirdly, the sentence’s pneumatology broadened when indwelling and giving testimony of adoptive sonship were added. Although from a textual perspective, these implicitly confirmed LG 4’s typical pneumatological style, the motive seems to be conciliar rather than theological: Philips and his team considered LG 4 the best place to include a reference to the topic of the *ecclesia orans* that was suggested by Richaud.

---

<sup>615</sup> Figure eighteen shows that Philips’ (first) October 1962 draft featured the word heart, but that it was deleted in the February Philips Schema.

<sup>616</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 948. Rigaux, member of the subcommission, noted “too subtle” on the written version of the proposal. Lercaro’s intervention had been drafted by Cipriano Vagaggini, a Benedictine and liturgical scholar.

<sup>617</sup> ASV, Busta 155, full text “page 91. (lin.?, JM) 16 Spiritus Sanctus «in Ecclesia et in cordibus fidelium tanquam in templo habitat». Spiritus Sanctus non est eodem modo in Ecclesia et in cordibus fidelium. Insuper est tantum in cordibus fidelium qui gratia sanctificante ornati sunt”. Verolino did not suggest an improvement. Moreover, if he had done, it would probably have been a substantial change in the text, not a minor one, so that it would not have been considered.

#### Sentence 4. Truth, Unity, Hierarchical and Charismatic Gifts, Spiritual Fruits

As we have seen in chapter 5.1, LG 4's fourth sentence is part of a series of sentences specifying various activities of the Spirit. This sentence touches on the Spirit's involvement in truth, unity, hierarchical as well as charismatic gifts and spiritual fruits. Figure nineteen below gives an overview of the sentence's development from the February Philips Schema onwards.

February Philips Schema	March Philips Schema	Schema 2	<i>Lumen gentium</i>
Ecclesiam	Ecclesiam	Ecclesiam	Ecclesiam,
			<u>quam in omnem veritatem</u>
			<u>inducit (cf. Io. 16, 13) et in</u>
			<u>communione et ministracione</u>
			<u>unificat.</u>
diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit	diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit	diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit	diversis donis <u>hierarchicis</u> et
			charismaticis <u>et suis instruit ac</u>
			dirigit.
et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal., V, 22),	et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal., V, 22),	et fructibus suis adornat (cfr <u>1</u>	et fructibus suis adornat (cf.
eam vivificando et unificando,	eam vivificando et unificando,	<u>Cor. 12, 4; Gal. 5, 22),</u>	<u>Eph. 4, 11-12; 1 Cor. 12, 4;</u>
ita ut iure a Patribus principium vitae seu anima Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.	ita ut <del>iure a Patribus</del> principium vitae seu anima Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.	<del>eam vivificando et unificando,</del> <u>principium vitae seu anima</u> <u>Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.</u>	Gal. 5, 22).

**Figure 19.** The development of sentence four. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new.

As the development of the sentence is complex, I will discuss the various topics separately, starting with truth. The proposition on the Spirit leading the Church into all truth was introduced in Schema 3. Stylistically similar to other propositions in the sentence and thereby confirming the active conception of the Spirit, the phrase broadened the Spirit's involvement in the Church. What is the background of this development?

The introduction of the phrase was inspired by Bishop Lokuang. In response to Schema 2, he drew attention to the topic of “the Spirit who teaches” and requested that this aspect should be elaborated.<sup>618</sup> The *Relationes de singulis numeris* confirms that Lokuang's wish was the reason for

<sup>618</sup> AS II/1, 685, “N. 4. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificantem. Opus vel munus Spiritus Sancti in Ecclesia non clare apparet in hoc numero. Spiritus est qui docet et vivificat. De hac clarius annuntiandum est, non in brevis et condensatis citationibus”. What he meant with “short and dense statements” is not immediately clear, as the article did not feature any references to truth. Cf. the written proposal of Bishop Seitz who, in reaction to chapter three, had also rewritten DE 4. He proposed to state amongst others: “Spiritus habet missionem illuminandi genus humanum in veritate inquirenda”, AS II/3, 540.



inserting this text.<sup>619</sup> To describe the Spirit's teaching role, the editors were probably inspired by John 16:13, which states that the "Spiritus veritatis docebit vos in omnem veritatem".<sup>620</sup>

The significance of the pneumatological development in this phrase increases by comparing this proposition to the earlier propositions on the Spirit and truth in Schema 1, especially in chapter VII on the magisterium, and chapter VIII on authority and obedience. Its proposition that the Spirit helps the hierarchy in offering truth and the faithful in accepting it illustrates to what an extent it conceived the Spirit's involvement in truth in the context of the hierarchy, and with a focus on the hierarchy.<sup>621</sup> Schema 2 too discussed truth in the chapter on the hierarchy and therefore with a focus on the hierarchy.<sup>622</sup> However, this was not to last, for thanks to Lokuang, Schema 3 included in LG 4 a phrase on the Spirit's teaching role. By conceiving truth as a primarily pneumatological matter, and by elaborating it without a focus on the hierarchy, Schema 3 stood out from Schema 1 and Schema 2.

In conclusion, the phrase on truth developed the Spirit's foundational role in relation to a topic that was traditionally related to the hierarchy. The proposition was inspired by Lokuang's suggestion and therefore points to a conciliar motive (for the editors) and a pneumatological motive (for Lokuang). Finally, the inclusion of a Scripture reference may point to a Scriptural concern as well.

A second pneumatological development consisted in the modification of the reference to the Spirit's involvement in unity. It was not new to speak about the Spirit and unity. Schema 1 had in its opening chapter on the nature of the Church spoken of the Spirit as soul of the mystical body and source of unity, thereby linking the Holy Spirit to unity in an abstract manner.<sup>623</sup> Unity was in fact mainly conceived from Christ, the head of the mystical body, and from the hierarchical and visible bonds of unity, for the Catholic Church's "center and foundation and principle of unity is the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ himself".<sup>624</sup> The earlier February Philips Schema spoke about unity by means of the brief reference *unificando* and the somewhat vague notion of the Spirit as soul

---

<sup>619</sup> Thus the *Relatio*, AS III/1, 173. It referred to "the *Animadversiones*, p.29", see CSVII, Archive Philips, *Animadversiones in Schema De Ecclesia* (Pars I), lat., 143 pages. Different from what Lokuang had wished, the new text was still a short statement, but that was also true for Lokuang's own proposal, see previous footnote.

<sup>620</sup> Cf. full text, with bold added, "Cum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis docebit vos **in omnem veritatem**. Non enim loquetur a semet ipso sed quaecumque audiet loquetur et quae ventura sunt adnuntiabit vobis".

<sup>621</sup> For example, speaking about *sensus fidei*, Schema 1 stated: "Ultimatim exsuscitatur a Spiritu Sancto, qui, dum eidem magisterio adest in catholica doctrina proponenda, idem in fidelibus operatur ut doctrinam propositam oboedienti animo accipiant, recte intelligant, et profundius scrutentur", AS I/4, 63 (DE 39). Cf. DE 28-32 on the magisterium.

<sup>622</sup> See Schema 2, article DE 19 (AS II/1, 237-239), cf. DE 12, 13, 18. Chapter three on the people of God and the laity mentioned the Spirit of truth in relation to *sensus fidei*, yet still with a focus on the hierarchy, see DE 24, AS II/1, 258-260.

<sup>623</sup> See AS I/4, 14 (DE 5), "Sicut autem Christus Caput est Corporis, ita et Spiritus Sanctus, in Capite et in membris in habitans, eius est Anima; qui unus cum sit, totum Corpus in unitate constituit et tenet (...)".

<sup>624</sup> AS I/4, 26-27 (DE 15), "Quoniam Episcopi singuli centrum et fundamentum et principium unitatis sunt in suis Ecclesiis particularibus, prout in illis et ex illis (...) una et unica Ecclesia Catholica existit, cuius centrum et fundamentum et principium unitatis est successor Petri (...)".

of the Church. Schema 2 spoke about unity as well, sometimes in a Christological manner, sometimes with a focus on Church structure and organisation.<sup>625</sup>

Schema 3 differs from these texts in three respects. Firstly, it articulated the Spirit's involvement in unity in a specified, active manner instead of in an abstract manner as "principle" or "soul". Secondly, the Spirit was said to work unity rather than being situated in the shadow of Christ. Finally, the unity the Spirit works was not primarily conceived in relation to the hierarchy, but as a unity "in communion and ministry".

What was the background of this development? The *Relatio* explained that the new draft included a proposition that "the Holy Spirit unifies (*unificat*) the Church *per communionem* (*koinonian*) *et ministrationem* (*diakoniam*), as is requested in the *Animadversionibus*, p.30".<sup>626</sup> This is a reference to the contribution by a group of German-Scandinavian theologians and Council fathers. In reaction to Schema 2, they had proposed that a sentence on Christ as "principle of peace and unity" in DE 3 should be complemented with a short reference to the Spirit, "per Spiritum Sanctum". In addition, they suggested to add to the article on the Spirit DE 4 the phrase "and He is the uncreated and invisible principle of the Church".<sup>627</sup>

Yet Philips substantially altered their proposal. While both Schema 2 and the German-Scandinavians had spoken about the Spirit as a *principium* of unity, Philips opted for the much more specific phrase "the Spirit unifies". In addition, he also specified that this work of unity had to do with ecclesial communion and ministry. The *Relatio* erroneously suggested that the words *communio* and *ministratio* came from the proposal made by the German-Scandinavian group.<sup>628</sup> Did the comments by Cardinal Bea and by the orthodox observer Schmemmann that LG 4's view of the Spirit was too much focused on the individual's salvation and gifts play a role?<sup>629</sup> In any case, from a textual perspective, the development of the text meant that LG 4's typically active conception of the Holy Spirit was confirmed and broadened. Unfortunately, we do not know if that was also what Philips intended. Was this a pneumatological choice or did the editorial motive of a coherent text determine the outcome?

The third topic in sentence 4 is the Spirit's hierarchical and charismatic gifts. How did the phrase on these gifts develop, and what is the background of these developments? Figure twenty on

---

<sup>625</sup> Compare *AS* II/1, 215-216 (DE 1) on "unity in Christ" with 16-217 (DE 3) on the Church's "appropriate visible and social means of unity", being "built on Peter and the apostles".

<sup>626</sup> *AS* III/1, 173.

<sup>627</sup> *AS* II/1, 775-776. Cf. full text, "Pag.8, lin.19 (= DE 3, JM): post verbum «unitatis» addatur: «*per Spiritum Sanctum*». Ratio: ut appareat Spiritus Sanctus ut unitatis principium. Nam in Encyclica *Mystici Corporis* Spiritus Sanctus vocatur Ecclesiae (Ecclesiae?, JM) unitatis principium increatum et non adspectabile", and, "Pag.8, lin.34 (=DE 4, JM): ante verbum «Ubi» ponatur: «*et Ecclesiae unitatis est principium increatum et invisibile*». Ratio: est eadem ratio ac superius ad pag.8, lin.19". The same proposals were made by one of the member of the group, Lorenz Jaeger, Archbishop of Paderborn (Germany), see *AS* II/1, 676, cf. the focus on unity in the *Schema Germanicum*, *AS* I/4, 601-639.

<sup>628</sup> See the quotes in the previous footnote.

<sup>629</sup> See the discussion of the redaction history of sentence 1, especially footnotes 546-547.

the next page outlines the development from the February Philips Schema to the final text. It shows that various elements were preserved all along the process: the nouns *Ecclesiam* and *diversis donis*, the root *charisma*, the verb *dirigit* and the reference to Gal 5:22. It also shows that the phrase underwent various, mostly subtle changes.

February Philips S'	March Philips S'	Schema 2	Schema 3	<i>Lumen gentium</i>
( <b>Ecclesiam</b> ) <b>diversis donis</b> et <b>charismatibus</b> suis  <b>dirigit</b> <b>et fructibus</b> suis <b>adornat</b> (cfr Gal., V, 22)....	( <b>Ecclesiam</b> ) <b>diversis donis</b> et <b>charismatibus</b> suis  <b>dirigit</b> <b>et fructibus</b> suis <b>adornat</b> (cfr Gal.; V, 22)....	( <b>Ecclesiam</b> ) <b>diversis donis</b> et <b>charismatibus</b> suis  <b>dirigit</b> <b>et fructibus</b> suis <b>adornat</b> (cfr. <u>1 Cor. 12,</u> <u>4; Gal. V 5, 22</u> )....	( <b>Ecclesiam</b> ) <b>diversis donis</b> <u>hierarchicis</u> et charismatibus <del>suis</del> <b>dirigit</b> <b>et fructibus</b> suis <b>adornat</b> (cf. Eph. 4, 11- <u>12; 1 Cor. 12, 4; Gal. 5,</u> 22)....	( <b>Ecclesiam</b> ) <b>diversis donis</b> hierarchicis et <u>charismaticis</u> <u>instruit ac dirigit</u> <b>et fructibus</b> suis <b>adornat</b> (cf. Eph. 4, 11- 12; 1 Cor. 12, 4; <b>Gal. 5,</b> 22) ....

**Figure 20.** The development of the phrases on charisms and fruits. Bold: texts in common. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new.

Further, the Spirit's active involvement in the Church through "gifts and charisms" was broadened in the third schema, so that it included the hierarchy. At the same time, the Scriptural foundation was elaborated; as it is not exactly clear to which of the phrases of sentence four these are related, I will discuss these after the next phrase, on fruits. After the reference to the hierarchy had been added, Schema 3 simplified the phrase so that it spoke of gifts of two types, "hierarchical and charismatic gifts", instead of "hierarchical gifts and charisms". Finally, this final draft also added the word *instruit*.

What is the background of these changes? As the content of the notion *charisma* was fiercely debated, a brief introduction to that debate may be useful. When Schema 1 mentioned charisms, as it did, *charisma* either meant something like grace and charity or had a strongly hierarchy-bound meaning. For example, Christ was called the *fons omnium charismatum* (DE 14). In addition, the Church as an organisation was – wrongly, so Schema 1 warned – opposed to an *Ecclesia charismatica vel amoris* (DE 6). In other cases, the hierarchy was explained to have the *charisma indefectibilis veritatis* (DE 28, cf. DE 30). The text was aware that charisms were sometimes said to be given to all, for it considered it a mistake that people gifted with charisms did not subdue themselves to Church authority (DE 37).<sup>630</sup> Yet this notion of charisms given to all was presented with caution and reticence, as a claim, not a fact: "some claim (*sibi vindicant*) that they have special charisms". The word

<sup>630</sup> See AS I/4, 61 (DE 37), "(Errant) qui docent quosdam esse christianos homines, qui ob peculiaria charismata vel speciales missiones, quae tamquam a Deo accepta sibi vindicant, ecclesiae hierarchiae a Christo institutae parere non teneantur". DE 5's proposition that Christ, the head of the mystical body, gives "graces and gifts and charisms" may either refer to grace, or to charisms in an inclusive sense.

*charisma* is absent from the chapter on the laity, largely written by Philips, as well as from his October Schema, although both advocated an inclusive approach towards the laity. Was that because Philips wished to avoid a word with strongly apologetical and hierarchy-centered resonances?

Figure twenty-one below shows the development of the phrase before the February Philips Schema.<sup>631</sup> The overlap indicated in bold proves that, for this phrase, the February draft used an earlier Philips text as source (that was inspired by *correctiones*), not the Chilean text.

Schema Philips October	26-11 <i>correctiones</i>	February Philips S' (20-2)	February Philips S' (27-2)
5. De Sponsa Christi et Ecclesia coelesti	5. De Sponsa Christi et Ecclesia coelesti	5. De Sponsa Christi et Ecclesia coelesti	<del>5. De Sponsa Christi et Ecclesia coelesti</del> <u>3. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante</u>
Variis et profundis figuris apparet Ecclesia ut vera creatio Dei, nova et spiritualis,	Variis et profundis figuris apparet Ecclesia ut vera creatio Dei, nova et spiritualis, (cfr Gal.2,15), habitaculum Spiritus Sancti, qui eam <b>charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal.5,22).</b>	Variis et profundis figuris apparet Ecclesia ut vera creatio Dei, nova et spiritualis (cfr Gal.2,15), habitaculum Spiritus Sancti qui eam <b>charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal.5,22).</b>	<del>Variis et profundis figuris ...</del>  <u>Ecclesiam diversis donis et charismatibus suis dirigit et fructibus suis adornat (cfr Gal., V, 22),</u>
coelestis vel in terris constituta, dominium Regis aeterni, regnum coelorum, quam Johannes contemplatus est, sanctam civitatem Jerusalem novam, descendantem de coelis a Deo, paratam sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo, tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus (cf. Apoc. 21,2ss).	coelestis vel in terris constituta <u>consistens</u> ...	coelestis vel in terris consistens, dominium Regis aeterni, regnum coelorum <u>in hoc aevo praelibatum</u> , quam <del>Johannes contemplatus est</del> , sanctam civitatem, Jerusalem novam, <u>Johannes contemplatus est</u> , descendantem de coelis a Deo, paratam sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo, tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus (cf. Apoc. XXI,2ss).	<del>coelestis vel in terris consistens, dominium Regis aeterni, regnum coelorum in hoc ...</del>  <u>eam vivificando et unificando, ita ut principium vitae seu anima Ecclesiae vocari potuerit.</u>

**Figure 21.** The first versions of the phrase on charisms and fruits. Bold: phrase on charismas. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new.

In the draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>, Philips enriched an existing reflection on various images for the Church with a reference to the Church as temple of the Spirit; this latter reference he developed by speaking about the Spirit giving charisms and adorning the Church with fruits.

In fact, it is intriguing to find this phrase on charisms here, in this article on images of the Church, as it does not present an image.<sup>632</sup> The phrase was almost literally copied from a sheet with “Correctiones ad textum a coetu internationali theologorum, Romae, 26 mensis novembris 1962,

<sup>631</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 544, 1; no. 592, 4, cf. no. 433, no. 461.

<sup>632</sup> Cf. also the fact that it is the only adjective *qui*-clause in the sentence.

propositum”,<sup>633</sup> that was the fruit of a meeting with amongst others Rahner, Ratzinger and Congar.<sup>634</sup> Do we rightly suspect the influence of Congar, who had in the years before the Council been a pioneer of a new, more inclusive notion of charisms,<sup>635</sup> or Rahner, who had pioneered the notion of charisms as well?<sup>636</sup> Possibly, these *correctiones* were discussed in the January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1963, meeting that Philips had with some experts amongst whom Congar (see chapter 5.2). When Philips started to consider the introduction of a Spirit-centered article (between the February 20<sup>th</sup> and February 27<sup>th</sup> Schema), he noted “Templum: charismata et fructus; animat et dirigit”, which is a summary is the *correctiones*.<sup>637</sup>

Although the *correctiones* date from before the discussion on the Church – which started on December 1<sup>st</sup> – Philips may have felt confirmed to include the phrase on charisms by comments made during the First Period, some of which echoed the preconciliar pioneering voices by the likes of Congar. For in his fierce plea for a more pneumatological treatment of the Church, Archbishop Alba Palacios had pointed out that the Spirit was rightly conceived in relation to the hierarchy’s charismatic gifts but that He also gave charisms to all faithful: “For the Holy Spirit strengthens (*firmat*) the Church with charisms that are proper to the hierarchy (...). Yet He has not only given (*tribuit*) charisms to the hierarchy, but (...) also to the priests (sic!) and lay faithful and the people of God, to each one according to his own strength (*virtutem*)”.<sup>638</sup> Commenting on the chapter on the religious, Heinrich Tenhumberg, auxiliary bishop of Münster (Germany), pointed out in a rather similar way that the schema should elaborate the importance of the Church’s charismatic dimension and added that God may give charisms both to members of the hierarchy and to lay people.<sup>639</sup>

---

<sup>633</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 544, 1.

<sup>634</sup> See Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 262, “À 18h., je suis au collège belge où je ne puis participer qu’à la dernière demi-heure de discussion de la reprise du *De Ecclesia* par Mgr Philips. Rahner, Daniélou et ? quittaient la séance. Restaient Ratzinger, Onclin, Lécuyer”.

<sup>635</sup> See e.g. Y. Congar, “Le Saint-Esprit et le Corps apostolique, réalisateurs de l’œuvre du Christ”, *Esquisses du mystère de l’Église*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1953), 129-179.

<sup>636</sup> See K. Rahner, “Das Charismatische in der Kirche,” K. Rahner, *Das Dynamische in der Kirche* (Freiburg: Herder, 1958), 37-73 (first published in *Stimmen der Zeit* 160 (1956/57), 161-186; translated as “The Charismatic Element in the Church”, *The Dynamic Element in the Church* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), 42-83). For some background, see J. Moons, “The Holy Spirit in Pre-Conciliar Ecclesiology. The Beginnings of a Rediscovery?”, *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology* 74 (2013), 240-254.

<sup>637</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 641.

<sup>638</sup> AS I/4, 414, cf. 413-415. Full text in Latin, “Spiritus enim Sanctus est qui revera Ecclesiae tribuit unitatem: Nam Ecclesiam facit hierarchicam, simulque spiritualem et charismaticam. Charismatibus enim propriis hierarchiae eam firmat; sive iurisdictione, nam «ipse posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam», sive magisterio infallibili, cum in capite collegii episcopalis, cui assistit, tum in collegio episcopali cui praeest: «Ille vos docibit omnia et suggeret vobis omnia quaecumque dixerit vobis»; «Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis». Nec tantum hierarchiae charismata tribuit, sed «dividens singulis prout vult», et sacerdotibus et laicis et populo Dei, unicuique secundum propriam virtutem”.

<sup>639</sup> Heinrich Tenhumberg (1915-1979) was a member of the Schönstatt movement, that was under suspicion at the time, see J. Schmiedl (ed.), *Heinrich Tenhumberg. Als Weihbischof auf dem Konzil. Tagebuchnotizen 1962-1965* (Münster: Aschendorf Verlag, 2015), 24-29. It is not improbable that his own background influenced his plea for not hierarchy-related charisms, cf.

Whatever the exact inspiration and motivation was, figure twenty-one shows that the sentence underwent subtle but important changes. The February Philips Schema transposed the phrase from the reflection on images of the Church to the newly introduced article on the Holy Spirit. That meant that a notion which had usually been part of an apologetical and hierarchy-centered argument was now placed in a fundamentally theological context. In addition, the February Philips Schema transformed the adjective *qui*-clause into a main clause. Thus the phrase fitted well with the section's active pneumatological style.

The reaction of some Council fathers to Schema 2 confirms that something new was going on. During the Second Period Archbishop Florit first touched upon the issue when, in reaction to DE 4, he posed the question “Do these charisms only belong to the apostolic times or to all times, as the *T.C.* (conciliar text) suggests?”<sup>640</sup> In a more outspoken way Cardinal Ruffini deplored that “Here, and also on page 9 from line 27 (on the *dona ministrationem*, JM), there is no distinction – yet this is most important – between charisms as grace for the benefit of others (*gratia gratis data*), that the apostle Paul clearly deals with, and the hierarchical grades, to which the direction and government of the Church have belonged from the earliest days”.<sup>641</sup> Bishop Hervás y Benet requested several points to be “lucidly illustrated”, amongst which the distinction between two types of charisms, special ones (*peculiariora*) and hierarchical charisms, “given *stabiliter* by Christ to the Church”, in whom Christ acts in a special way.<sup>642</sup>

The topic was discussed once again in reaction to DE 24, which would later become LG 12. A footnote clarified that charisms were something large (*latissima*), that they included the hierarchy (*stabilia ministeria*) but that they were also given to the laity, and that they could well be of an

---

Tenhumberg's recollection that Frings had recommended to leave out his personal involvement: “Ich solle den Eindruck vermeiden, als ob ich die Sache nur Schönstats wegen vorträge”, Schmiedl (ed.), *Heinrich Tenhumberg. Tagebuchnotizen*, 120. For the text, see AS I/4, 586, “(C)harismata Deus omnipotens et misericors pro sua gratia et benevolentia tum membris sacrae hierarchiae tum laicis largiri potest”. Tenhumberg said that in doing so, he agreed with König, Alfrink and Döpfner in wanting the whole chapter to be reworked, with due consideration of charisms. Döpfner had indeed pleaded for reworking the chapter and integrating charisms (See AS I/4, 184, cf. “debuisset (cap. V, JM) incipere a consideratione vitae charismaticae, quae et ministris sacris et laicis est patens”); König had pleaded for reworking the chapter without mentioning charisms (AS I/4, 132-134); Alfrink had barely spoken about the chapter on the religious (AS I/4, 134-136). Cf. Tenhumberg's plea for a more pneumatological foundation for the Schema on lay apostolate, AS III/4, 91-93, and his comments on reading the signs of the times in reaction to Schema XVII (*Gaudium et Spes*); in those, he proposed a more pneumatological approach and praised LG 12's appreciation of charisms, AS III/5, 528-529.

<sup>640</sup> AS II/2, 160.

<sup>641</sup> AS II/1, 393, “Hic, et similiter pag. 9 inde a lin. 27, nulla est distinctio, equidem summi momenti, inter charismata, seu gratias gratis datas, de quibus apostolus quarter manifesto tractat (footnote to 1 Cor. 12:8-10; 28-30 Rom. 12:6-8; Eph. 4,1; cf. 1 Cor. 14:26, JM), et gradus hierarchicos, ad quos regimen et administratio Ecclesiae inde ab initio pertinuerunt”. Cf. the comment by Cardinal Bea, who suggested to replace *dirigit* with *locupletat* (fills), to avoid the impression that those with charisms lead the Church and not those with authority, AS II/2, 24.

<sup>642</sup> AS II/2, 174-175.

ordinary nature.<sup>643</sup> Especially these clarifications led to critical reactions. Were charisms really still given? Were charisms really given to laity as well as hierarchy? Ruffini noted that charisms belonged to the apostolic times and had become rare in our time.<sup>644</sup> Yet Suenens rejected this idea with a powerful address, prepared by the Swiss Council *peritus* Hans Küng,<sup>645</sup> in which he claimed that charisms were given to all, in past and present, in both extraordinary and ordinary form.<sup>646</sup>

The *Relatio de singulis numeris* explained that it was in response to Ruffini that Philips added in Schema 3 a reference the hierarchy.<sup>647</sup> But Philips did not specify the difference between hierarchical gifts and non-hierarchical charisms, as Ruffini had wished.

In the final version, it got even worse. For when the noun *charisma* was altered into the adjective charismatic, resulting in *donis hierarchicis et charismaticis*, the grammar of the sentence evoked, not the distinction between hierarchical gifts and charisms, but their equality. Yet probably this had an editorial rather than a theological background. As *dona* and *charismata* seem to have been considered more or less as synonyms,<sup>648</sup> it was stylistically better to change the noun *charisma* into the adjective charismatic, resulting in *donis hierarchicis et charismaticis*.<sup>649</sup>

---

<sup>643</sup> AS II/1, 266, footnote 14, cf. full text, “*Charisma est apud Paulum appellatio latissima, quae etiam, vel immo praecipue ministeria stabilia comprehendit (here follows a number of Scripture references, JM). Vox intelligitur de donis variis, quae passim a Spiritu Sancto, cum quadam libera regularitate, sive ministris sive fidelibus tribuuntur. Charismata non semper indolem miram vel spectabilem induunt, ut in miraculis, linguis, apparitionibus, etc.; sed donum advertitur etiam in caritate et in quacumque donatione particulari, cuius influxus beneficus in communitatem redundat*”.

<sup>644</sup> AS II/2, 629-630, cf. the famous line “*hodie (charismata) rarissima sint et prorsus singularia*”. For a similar yet somewhat more moderate view, cf. Cardinal Siri, AS II/3, 279. Archbishop Calabria only remarked that he agreed with Ruffini and Siri, AS II/3, 364.

<sup>645</sup> Cf. Rahner’s testimony in a letter from October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1963: “Heute Vormittag kommt Küng, damit wir etwas machen für Suenens. Was er neulich gesagt hat (this must refer to Suenens’ address on October 22<sup>nd</sup>, JM), war von Küng und ein wenig von mir auch hier in meiner Bude ausgekocht worden”, *Orientierung. Katholische Blätter für weltanschauliche Informationen* 48 (15 September 1984), 189. Online at [http://www.orientierung.ch/pdf/1984/JG%2048\\_HEFT%2017\\_-DATUM%2019840915.PDF](http://www.orientierung.ch/pdf/1984/JG%2048_HEFT%2017_-DATUM%2019840915.PDF). For Küng (1928-...), see M. Quisinsky, “Küng, Hans”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 157-158.

<sup>646</sup> AS II/3, 175-178, translated as “The Charismatic Dimension of the Church”, Y. Congar, H. Küng, D. O’Hanlon (eds.), *Council Speeches of Vatican II* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1964), 18-19. For similar remarks, see especially the written interventions by Archbishop Garrone, with eighty-three other bishops, AS II/3, 465-467, and Johannes Pohlschneider, bishop of Aachen (Germany), who explicitly meant to react to Ruffini, AS II/3, 523-524.

<sup>647</sup> AS III/1, 173, cf. “Inter dona Spiritus Sancti enumerantur etiam munera *hierarchica*, E/524 (=Ruffini)”.

<sup>648</sup> See the footnote to DE 24, Schema 2, “Vox (charisma) intelligitur de donis variis, quae passim a Spiritu Sancto (...) tribuuntur”, AS II/1, 266. Cf. however the plea against such an identification by Archbishop Florit, AS II/3, 252-253.

<sup>649</sup> The topic was debated in the Doctrinal Commission on November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1963, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol 3, 339, “6.18 III Lattanzi loquitur de “donis hierarchicis et charismatibus”. Interveniunt P. Rahner, Secret., Exc. Doumith, Em. König. 6.37 Maneant verba: “dona hierar. et charism.”. Different from the conclusion, the words did change.

In the last editorial phase, the issue of charisms surfaced again, for four of the six *modi* in relation to DE 4 were on charisms.<sup>650</sup> Three Council fathers argued that charisms were not meant to direct the Church, and therefore proposed other verbs. Bishop Carli, who had already commented in reaction to Schema 3 that *dirigit* should be replaced with *instruit* “because hierarchical gifts are not given for directing the Church”, now handed this in as *modus*. Giuseppe Garneri, bishop of Susa (Italy), handed in exactly the same proposal.<sup>651</sup> Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, divine word missionary (SVD), archbishop of Diamantina (Brasil), and one of the leading members of the *Coetus internationalis Patrum*, maintained the word *dirigit* for the hierarchy yet added *fecundat* for charisms: “... diversis donis hierarchicis dirigit, charismatibus fecundat et fructibus adornat”. He considered charisms to be part of the fruitfulness of the Church, not its government, and therefore closer to fruits of the Spirit.<sup>652</sup>

In its reply to these wishes, the Commission stood by its conception of charisms. (This should not surprise, for at this stage only minor revisions were possible.) Although in answer to Carli and Garneri, Philips added the word *instruit*, he did so without deleting the word *dirigit*, thus refusing to diminish the significance of charisms.<sup>653</sup> The reference to a Council father who “fears that hierarchical and charismatic gifts would be wrongly considered equal” probably meant Felix Romero Mengibar, bishop of Jaén (Spain). As the words gifts in *donis hierarchicis* could have a temporal meaning (*sensus transeuns*), and as this should be avoided, he preferred *muneribus*.<sup>654</sup> His request was not followed, for the Commission answered that Saint Paul spoke in this way.<sup>655</sup>

In conclusion, in the light of Schema 1 and the early Schema Philips, LG 4’s proposition on charisms represents nothing short of a pneumatological novelty. While the word was not new, it was new to consider charisms as a fundamentally pneumatological (rather than ecclesiological and apologetical) and inclusive (rather than hierarchy-centered) notion. As the wishes of the Council fathers and periti went in various directions, Philips and his team had to make choices. Thus the motives for renewal were both conciliar and theological (pneumatological, ecclesiological), and a variety of players were involved.

---

<sup>650</sup> Again, I would like to express my gratitude to Peter De Mey (KU Leuven), who copied these *Modi* from the Vatican Archives (ASV).

<sup>651</sup> AS III/1, 653 and ASV, Busta 155.

<sup>652</sup> Cf. his explanation: “Ratio est: Ne videatur Concilium docere praeter Hierarchiam etiam charismaticos Ecclesiam dirigere, cum charismata, Hierarchiae contraposta, ad fecunditatem ministerii et non ad regimen pertineant. Sic charisma et fructus Spiritus Sancti in proximo nexu appareatur”, ASV, Busta 155. For De Proença Sigaud (1909-1999), see Ph. Roy, “De Proença Sigaud, Geraldo”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 88-89.

<sup>653</sup> AS III/6, 80, cf. full text: “Sub n.4, p.9, linn 23: voci *dirigit* substituitur *instruit*. Resp.: Dicatur unum et alterum.” Cf. the early draft CSVII, Archive Philips no. 641, which had “Templum: charismata et fructus // animat et dirigit”.

<sup>654</sup> ASV, Busta 155.

<sup>655</sup> AS III/1, 653. Cf. full text, “Sub n.4, p.9, linn 22-23: aliquis Pater timet ne perperam aequiparentur dona *hierarchica* et *charismatica*. Resp.: Locutio adhibita accuratim modo loquendi S. Pauli correspondet.”



The final part of this fourth sentence of LG 4 specifies that the Spirit adorns the Church with spiritual fruits. The development of the phrase is very similar to the phrase on charisms. This phrase too was first introduced in the Philips draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>, in an article on various images of the Church, as a further development of the image of the Church as dwelling place of the Holy Spirit, and after this had been suggested by a group of theologians (see figure twenty-one). This phrase too did not really fit into the context, as it did not contain an image for the Church. It did however fit rather well with the Chilean style. Therefore, when Philips transplanted the phrase from the context of a consideration of images of the Church to that of a fundamental pneumatological reflection, the only change consisted in transforming an adjective clause into a main clause.<sup>656</sup> With this move, the weight of the phrase increased significantly. It did not develop one possible image of the Church – dwelling place of the Holy Spirit – but explained what the Spirit means for the Church: He embellishes her with his fruits. From an interesting further explanation, the phrase had become part of the foundational trinitarian introduction to *Lumen gentium*.

Even though this spiritual view of the Spirit's work in the Church was new, it was rarely commented on by Council fathers, nor did the sentence undergo any changes. Did the Council fathers notice the new pneumatological conviction of the phrase at all, and did the Doctrinal Commission? In his postconciliar commentary, Philips stated that Gal 5:22 had been a *Leitmotiv* for the Council,<sup>657</sup> yet as *Lumen gentium* occasionally mentions the fruits of the Spirit and as the Council documents rarely do so – never in *Apostolicam actuositatem* or *Gaudium et spes* – Philips overstated his case.<sup>658</sup> Possibly, Philips meant that the pastoral and merciful attitude of the Council accorded well with what this Scripture passage promoted.

In short, with the introduction of this topic, which was absent in Schema 1, the Spirit's involvement in the Church came to include providing spiritual fruits. The exact motive for including this notion is not clear; an important actor is Philips and possibly others, who inspired him.

Finally, providing a satisfactory account of the development of the Scripture references in this sentence is difficult, as it is not immediately clear what reference relates to what topics. Arguably, John 16 is related to truth; logically therefore, the reference is placed after the phrase on truth. Yet does that mean that the last three references relate to *fructibus suis*, as they are placed after that topic? That is improbable, as only Gal 5:22 is about the fruits of the Spirit. Should we therefore suppose that Eph 4:11-12, on the variety of offices, including the apostles, and 1Cor 12:4, on the variety of gifts

---

<sup>656</sup> The Chilean schema had also spoken of “fruits of the Spirit”, referring to Gal 5:22, yet figure twenty-one shows convincingly that Philips relied on his own earlier text.

<sup>657</sup> Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 60. He made the statement in relation to LG 38's reference to the fruits of the Spirit.

<sup>658</sup> Cf. LG 34, on the wish that more abundant fruits of the Spirit may be produced in the faithful; LG 38, on the hope that the laity nourish the world with spiritual fruits (minuscule!), with Gal. 5:22; LG 39, stating that the Spirit produces fruits in the faithful; LG 40, on the hope that the faithful should have the fruits of the Spirit, with Gal 5:22. Cf. the very brief references in the *Relatio* to LG 38 and LG 39.

and the one Spirit, relate to charisms? Did the editors treat charisms and fruits as closely related topics, so that they placed the Scripture references together between one pair of brackets?

The redaction history supports that interpretation. Initially, in the draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>, when Philips introduced the topics of the temple of the Spirit, charisms and fruits, he only provided a Scripture reference in relation to the fruits of the Spirit (cf. figure twenty-one). In Schema 2, Philips added the Scripture references 1 Cor 12:4, which states that “divisiones vero gratiarum sunt idem autem Spiritus”, probably mainly to prove that the controversial proposition had a Scriptural ground. This may well have been inspired by father Kerrigan’s suggestion in his early March 1963 note: “in relation to *charismata*, reference could be made to 1 Corinthians 12:4,7-11”.<sup>659</sup> If Kerrigan was Philips’ source, Philips took over only part of the reference Kerrigan suggested, that is, verse 4, on the diversity of gifts of the one Spirit, and not the elaboration of that diversity and the fact that these gifts serve the Church in verses 7-11.<sup>660</sup> In Schema 3, Philips subtly edited the phrase on charisms by explicating that the hierarchy was part of the gifts of the Spirit as well. Eph 4:11-12 supports precisely that point, because it describes the variety of offices including that of the apostles: “(11) Et ipse dedit quosdam quidem apostolos quosdam autem prophetas alios vero evangelistas alios autem pastores et doctores (12) ad consummationem sanctorum in opus ministerii in aedificationem corporis Christi”. Indeed, this is Philips’ interpretation in his post-conciliar commentary on the text: the reference points to the origin of hierarchical (“ministerial”) ministry.<sup>661</sup>

Although this seems the best interpretation of the Scripture references in this sentence, it does not explain two things. Firstly, it raises the question why the reference to John 16 stands alone and the other three references are placed together. Could it be that the phrase on truth was added at a later moment? Could that explain another peculiarity, namely that the phrase on truth was commented on in the *Relatio* after the phrases on unity and charisms, even though it stands before those in the text itself?<sup>662</sup> Secondly, it raises the question why the second element of the sentence, the proposition on the Spirit’s involvement in unity, is without Scripture reference.

---

<sup>659</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 650.

<sup>660</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 12:4.7-11, “(4) divisiones vero gratiarum sunt idem autem Spiritus”, and “(7) Unicuique autem datur manifestatio Spiritus ad utilitatem. (8) Alii quidem per Spiritum datur sermo sapientiae alii autem sermo scientiae secundum eundem Spiritum, (9) alteri fides in eodem Spiritu alii gratia sanctorum in uno Spiritu, (10) alii operatio virtutum alii prophetatio alii discretio spirituum alii genera linguarum alii interpretatio sermonum. (11) Haec autem omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus dividens singulis prout vult”.

<sup>661</sup> Philips, *L’église et sons mystère*, vol. 1, 90, “La diversité des ministères se trouve exposée dans Éph., 4, 11-12, leur origine commune en l’Esprit dans I Cor., 12, 4, tandis que le texte célèbre aux Galates énumère nommément chacun des fruits de l’Esprit-Saint”. The Dutch edition of Philips’ commentary specifies these ministries as “ambtelijk”. Although Eph 4 mentions other than hierarchical ministries too, this reading is supported by the reference to precisely this text (and some others) in the footnote which clarifies Schema 2’s understanding of charisms, see *AS* II/1, 266, voetnoot 14 (in relation to DE 24).

<sup>662</sup> See *AS* III/1, 173.

In conclusion, the pneumatological renewal in this sentence consists in a broader and different conception of the Spirit. The role of Philips was crucial. The topic of truth was suggested by a Council father but the exact formulation came from Philips. Similarly the topic of unity came from the German-Scandinavian group but Philips opted for a fundamentally different formulation. In the case of charisms, Philips transplanted the words from a very different context and thereby pneumatologically upgraded the propositions. In addition, Philips resisted the wish of some Council fathers to change the text and stress the hierarchical role in relation to charisms. Finally the sentence on fruits, drawn from an earlier Philips draft, was virtually uncommented by the Council fathers.

These pneumatological changes were driven by various motives. In the case of the topic of unity, a conciliar concern to include suggestions by Council fathers when possible probably made Philips (re)introduce this topic. Yet the main motive in the development of this sentence is pneumatological and ecclesiological. My exploration testified to pneumatological concerns, especially in the case of Bishop Lokuang, the German-Scandinavian Council fathers, and the introduction of the Spirit-centered image of the Church with its explanation on charisma and fruits. Ecclesiological convictions played a major role too. The fact that truth, unity and charisma were conceived without the hierarchical focus that they initially had, and the fact that pressure to distinguish hierarchy and charisms was resisted, suggests that an ecclesiological conviction of inclusivity played a major role in the pneumatological renewal of these topics too.

## Sentence 5. Ecclesial Renewal towards Eschatological Unity with Christ

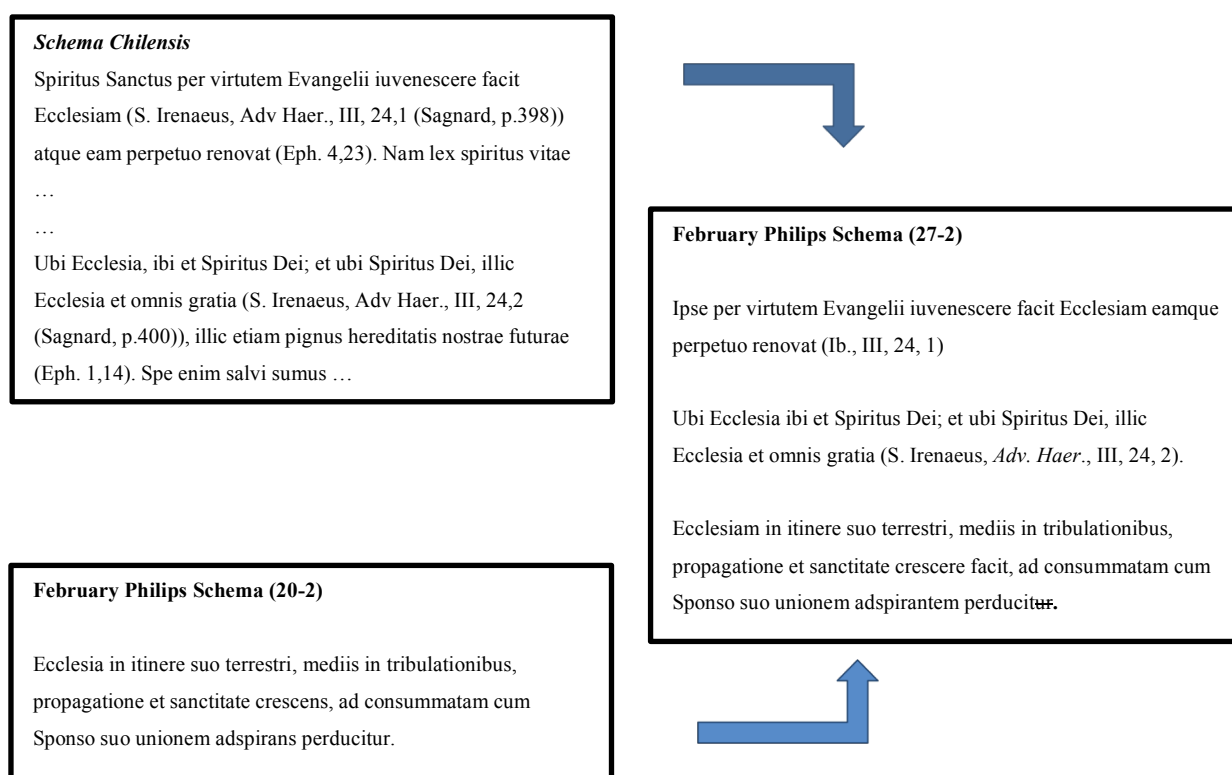
LG 4's fifth sentence focuses on the Spirit's work of renewing the Church and leading her to eschatological unity with Christ. Figure twenty-two on the next page outlines its development from the February Philips Schema onwards. What is crossed out was deleted, what is underlined was added and phrases in italics were moved to a different place in the text.

February Philips Schema	March Philips Schema	Schema 2	Schema 3
<p>Ipse per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat (S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24, 1).</p> <p>Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia (Ib., III, 24, 2).</p> <p>Ecclesiam in itinere suo terrestri, mediis in tribulationibus, propagatione et sanctitate crescere facit, ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem adspirantem perducit.</p>	<p><i>Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia (S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24, 2):</i></p> <p><i>Ipse per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat (Ib., III, 24, 1),</i></p> <p><del>Ecclesiam in itinere suo terrestri, mediis in tribulationibus, propagatione et sanctitate crescere facit</del></p> <p><u>et</u> ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem adspirantem perducit.</p>	<p>Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; <del>et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia (S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., III, 24, 2):</del></p> <p><del>Ipse</del>, <u>qui</u> per virtutem Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat,<sup>6</sup></p> <p>et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem <del>adspirantem</del> perducit.</p> <p>(6) S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III, 24, 1: PG 7, 966: ed. Sagnard, p.398: « <i>Quam (praedicationem) perceptam ab Ecclesia custodimus, et quae semper a Spiritu Dei quasi in vaso bono eximium quoddam dispositum (depositum) iuvenescens et iuvenescere faciens ipsum vas in quo est ...</i> Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Ecclesia et omnis gratia ».</p>	<p><del>Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei;</del></p> <p><u>qui per Virtutem</u> Evangelii iuvenescere facit Ecclesiam eamque perpetuo renovat,</p> <p>et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem perducit.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>(3) Cf. S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III, 24, 1: PG 7, 966 B: Harvey 2, 131; ed. Sagnard, Sources Chr., p.398: « <del>Quam (praedicationem) perceptam ab Ecclesia etc.</del> »</p>

**Figure 22.** The development of sentence five. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new. Italics: order changed.

Figure twenty-two reveals that this sentence is the result of an editorial process that consisted mainly in shortening. The February Philips Schema consisted of three sentences. What remained of these was one concise statement on the Spirit's work of rejuvenating and renewal in view of eschatological unity with Christ.

For a better understanding of the development of the sentence and its significance, it is useful to return to figure six. It showed that in his February draft, Philips brought together three sentences, having three different origins. The first sentence came from an article in the *Schema Chilensis* that its authors called “section d”, and which they specified to deal with the spiritual reform of the Church. The second sentence is from the same Schema but another section, called “section g”, which dealt with the future revelation in Christ. Finally, the third sentences came from the topic “De Ecclesia in statu terrestri” in Philips’ draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>. Figure twenty-three on the next page shows how Philips combined the sentences from these two sources.<sup>663</sup>



**Figure 23.** The double origin of sentence five.

When Philips brought together these three sentences, he probably did so for two reasons. Firstly, the two sentences from the Chilean schema were connected because they were quotes from the same text by Irenaeus. In addition, the first of the Chileans sentences and Philips’ sentence shared the same topic, namely renewal. That topic was charged with significance. While it was absent in the institution-centered approach of Schema 1, *Schema Chilensis* spent several sentences on the Spirit’s work of spiritually renewing the Church. It stated amongst others that “the Holy Spirit rejuvenates the Church (*iuvenescere facit*) and perpetually renews her”, yet spoke also about sin, concupiscence, and the fruits of the Spirit. Towards the end of the reflection on the Spirit, it highlighted the Spirit’s

<sup>663</sup> Mullins incorrectly traces this sentence back to D’Almeide Trindade (*AS* II/2, 152), see Mullins, *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit*, 186.

eschatological work, talking amongst others about hope and prayer and quoting “Ubi Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus”.

In the *Annotationes*, the authors clarified that they intentionally discussed the topics of spiritual renewal and eschatological growth; they considered these as two major aspects of the Spirit’s involvement in the Church. The first consisted in an “ongoing battle against sin” and had to do with charity and humility; the latter had to do with the Kingdom of God and the future revelation of Jesus Christ.<sup>664</sup> Moreover, by paying attention to these aspects, the authors wanted to counter the overly institutional and therefore “too static and abstract” ecclesiology of the original schema.<sup>665</sup>

This was a broadly shared critique during the First Period. For example, in the very first intervention, Cardinal Liénart pointed out that the Church was more than a “merely human *societas*” but rather a mystery, and that it should therefore avoid to talk in such a way that this mystery would be destroyed.<sup>666</sup> More famous is De Smedt’s critique on the Schema’s triumphalism, clericalism and juridicism.<sup>667</sup> To mend these weaknesses, various Council fathers recommended to speak about the Church’s eschatological destiny. For example, according to Cardinal König, “in talking about the Church’s nature (cf. chapter one), the eschatological nature of the Church should not be left out”.<sup>668</sup> And Jan van Cauwelaert, member of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart (CICM) and bishop of Inongo (Congo), drew attention to the fact that the Church on earth is a Church *in fieri*, thereby complementing the “too static” view of the Church in Schema 1.<sup>669</sup>

As figure six above showed, Philips substantially edited the Chilean text on spiritual renewal when he integrated it into his February Schema. He joined the two, initially distinct topics of spiritual renewal and eschatology, reduced their length, and placed the two quotes together. Thereby Philips improved the coherence and structure of the reflection, yet it also meant that the reference to renewal lost its spiritual edge; renewal was now mainly an eschatological matter.

---

<sup>664</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 90-91. Cf. at 90: “Podemos distinguir cuatro aspectos principales en el dinamismo del Espíritu: 1. Reforma de la Iglesia por la lucha permanente contra el pecado; 2. Misión; 3. Carismas o gracias (vocaciones) especiales para la construcción de la Iglesia; 4. Esperanza, oración de aspiración al reino de Dios y Cristo”, elaborated at 91. The full text of the Chilean schema supports this reading (see figure six).

<sup>665</sup> Cf. Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 73-74.

<sup>666</sup> *AS I/4*, 126-127.

<sup>667</sup> *AS I/4*, 142-144.

<sup>668</sup> *AS I/4*, 133.

<sup>669</sup> *AS I/4*, 157: “Ecclesia (...) nimis sub aspectu statico Ecclesia consideratur, quin sufficienter ostendatur Ecclesiam terrestrem in fieri esse eiusque significantionem (...) esse ex fine eschatologico in quem omnibus viribus tendere debet”. For a more extensive discussion, see chapter six of this thesis. Bishop Cauwelaert (1914-2016), originally from Belgium, was a member of the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments, see M. Lamberigts, “Cauwelaert, Jan Van”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 73-74. Cf. M. Lamberigts, “Jan Van Cauwelaert en Vaticanum II”, H. Derroitte, B. Lannoo, E. Manhaeghe (eds.), *Missie vandaag. Opstellen voor de honderdste verjaardag van mgr. Jan Van Cauwelaert* (Antwerpen: Halewijn, 2014), 47-57.

The reason Philips added another phrase from his own, earlier Schema from February 20<sup>th</sup> is probably simple. His own articulation of the Spirit's involvement in the Church's eschatological dimension is much clearer than the poetic allusions in the Chilean text (cf. figure six). The clarity increased further because Philips altered the *passivum divinum* form *perducitur* into the active form *perducit*, so that the actor of eschatological renewal was now specified to be the Holy Spirit.<sup>670</sup> Especially in the light of what I identified as LG 4's typical style, this is a noteworthy change.

In the Schema from the 1<sup>st</sup> of March, Philips inverted the two quotes from Cyprian. He probably did so for editorial reasons, for by inverting these, Philips linked more closely the topics of renewal (*renovat*) and eschatological unity (*ad consummatam unionem ... perducit*) and thus improved the flow of the text. Probably to further increase the flow, he also deleted the phrase on the Church's pilgrimage amidst tribulations; it was to return in the next draft text in the text that would become LG 9.<sup>671</sup>

The inversion of the two Cyprian quotes came with a price. For although the connection between the second quote and the final phrase had been improved, the first sentence now connected badly. It ended with the words Church and grace, and then continued with the Spirit. This was probably the reason that Philips deleted half of the first Cyprian quote. This allowed him to connect the remaining part of the phrase to the other phrases. The result was that what in the February Philips Schema had been three sentences had now become one sentence in three parts on the Spirit's work of

<sup>670</sup> For the details of the earlier development, see the overview below. The French text from late November 1962 contained already a sentence on eschatological growth. In the draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>, the apologetical phrases on the unity of the earthly and heavenly Church and on "couronnement final" were deleted; instead it focused on the pilgrim Church and her eschatological unity with Christ. In the 27-2 draft these views were expressed in pneumatological terms: *perducit* (*Spiritus*) instead of *perducitur*. Cf. also the change from the Church growing herself, *crescens*, to the Spirit making the Church grow, *Ecclesiam... crescere facit*.

November (CSVII 433)	February 20 <sup>th</sup> (CSVII 592)	February 27 <sup>th</sup> (CSVII 595)
[5. L'Église dans son stade terrestre]  L'Église sur terre et l'Église du ciel ne forment qu'une seule réalité mais  qui passe du stade d'épreuve, d'extension et de sanctification progressivement au couronnement final.	[6. De Ecclesia in statu terrestri]  L'Église sur terre et l'Église du ciel ne forment qu'une seule réalité Ecclesia in itinere suo terrestri, mediis in tribulationibus, propagatione et sanctitate crescens, ad <del>couronnement final</del> <u>consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem adspirans</u> perducitur.	[3. De Spiritu Ecclesiam sanctificante]  Ecclesiam in itinere suo terrestri, mediis in tribulationibus, propagatione et sanctitate crescere <u>facit</u> , et ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem adspirantem perducit <del>ur</del> .

<sup>671</sup> The reason for deleting the phrase cannot be that the topic was discussed elsewhere. For although the 1-3 Schema did feature an article "De Ecclesia in terris peregrinante", it in fact barely discussed the Church's arduous pilgrimage, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 597, 6). In the next draft, a reference to the "persecutiones mundi" was added to this section, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 598 and AS II/1, 220.

renewal “until He leads the Church to her blessed end”.<sup>672</sup> He corrected the wrong reference to *Adversus Haereses* 24:1, possibly after *peritus* Kerrigan had pointed out the error.<sup>673</sup>

In Schema 3, Philips deleted the remaining part of the first Irenaeus quote. Possibly Philips was inspired to do so by Bishop Elchinger’s written comment that the text continued with the reverse – that is, the part Philips had just deleted – and by Cardinal Rugambwa’s critique that care should be taken to prevent an exclusive view of the Holy Spirit as the Church’s monopoly.<sup>674</sup> The major motive for doing so seems editorial: the part that remained had little meaning and confused rather than clarified the Spirit’s working in the Church. Probably in answer to Archbishop Cooray’s comment that *virtute* seemed better than *per virtutem*, Schema 3 deleted the pronoun.<sup>675</sup>

Other comments in reaction to Schema 2 were not followed. William Conway, Auxiliary bishop of Armagh (Ireland), wished to avoid the impression that the Church could grow old (*senescere*) and therefore wished to avoid the word rejuvenate (*iuvenescere*).<sup>676</sup> Bishop Tabera Araoz and Cardinal Bea commented on the words *per virtutem* and noted other factors such as the power of preaching and grace itself.<sup>677</sup>

In conclusion, this sentence contributes to a broad conception of the Spirit’s activity and implies a dynamic view of the Church. The development of the phrase reveals firstly a theological motive, namely in so far as the dynamic view of the Church meant to challenge Schema 1’s static view. Although this was mainly an ecclesiological motive, it obviously had also a pneumatological aspect, as the sentence(s) discussed the Spirit. Secondly, the development of the phrase points at a conciliar motive to try and use the available material as well as the advices or comments that were given. That motive was complemented by the editorial motive to streamline the text, a motive that made that most of the material of the Chileans was slowly deleted.

---

<sup>672</sup> Thus the *Relatio*’s summary of DE 4, see AS II/1, 229-230, “... renovando, donec eam ad beatum finem perducatur”.

<sup>673</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 650. Cf. the correction in draft no. 599. Aranda and Arenas also noted the mistake, see Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 276, note 5.

<sup>674</sup> For Elchinger, see AS II/1, 657, “Il est dit «Ubi Ecclesia ibi Spiritus» pag. 8, lin. 34. C’est une citation de St Irénée qui continue (cf. pag. 15, n. 6): «Ubi Spiritus, ibi Ecclesia». Or l’Esprit et la grâce sont aussi donnés aux chrétiens de bonne foi, juridiquement séparés de Rome (cf. pag. 12, lin. 33)”. The remark was not included in the *Emendationes* and *Animadversiones*. For Rugambwa, see AS II/2, 132, cf. “Curandum quoque est ut Ecclesia non appareat ut in se tanquam in «ghetto» quasi monopolio fruens Spiritus Sancti”. For a similar sentiment, cf. the discussions in the Secretariat for Christian Unity. Both during a discussion on the first chapter and on the chapter on the hierarchy, Heiko Oberman criticised the fact that only half of Irenaeus’ text was cited, pointing out that it meant that the Spirit was almost confined to the Church, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1050, 3 and no. 1052, 3-4. Oberman (1930-2001), a Protestant from the Netherlands and an expert of the reformation era, taught at the time of the Council at Harvard. See R. Rieger, “Oberman, Heiko”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 201-202.

<sup>675</sup> AS II/2, 149. No reason is specified, cf. “Loco «per virtutem» melius esse videtur verbum «virtute» vel «per Evangelium virtute sua»”.

<sup>676</sup> AS II/1, 644. He suggested “semper iuvenem servat”.

<sup>677</sup> For Tabera Araoz, see AS II/1, 730; for Bea, see AS II/2, 24.



## Sentence 6. “Come”

LG 4’s sixth sentence quotes the eschatological cry “come”, which, according to the book of Apocalyps, the Spirit and the Church address to Christ. Figure twenty-four on the next page outlines its development from the February Philips Schema onwards. What is crossed out was deleted and what is underlined was added. To facilitate comparison, I have added the Apocalypse text that is referred to.

February Philips S’	March Philips S’	Schema 2	Schema 3	Cf. Apoc 22:17, 20
Nam Spiritus et Sponsa dicunt: Veni, Domine Iesu (cfr Apoc., XXII, 17 et 20).	Nam Spiritus et Sponsa dicunt: «Veni, Domine Iesu» (cfr Apoc., XXII, 17 et 20).	Nam Spiritus et Sponsa <u>ad Dominum Iesum</u> dicunt: «Veni, <del>Domine Iesu</del> » (cf. Apoc. <del>XXII</del> <u>22</u> , 17 <del>et 20</del> ).	Nam Spiritus et Sponsa ad Dominum Iesum dicunt «Veni» (cf. Apoc. 22, 17).	(17) et <b>Spiritus et sponsa dicunt veni</b> et qui audit dicat veni (...) (20) dicit qui testimonium perhibet istorum etiam venio cito amen <b>veni Domine Iesu.</b>

**Figure 24.** The development of sentence six. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new. Bold: significant words in the Scripture references.

Figure twenty-four shows that between the February Philips Schema and *Lumen gentium* the sentence underwent minimal change. Philips introduced quotation marks, replaced the words *Domine Iesu* (between the quotation marks) with *ad Dominum Iesum* (before the quotation marks) and deleted verse 20 from the reference. A comparison with Apocalypse 20:17, 20 provides an easy explanation for these changes, namely Scriptural accuracy. The Chilean draft that Philips copied the sentence from had in fact combined *Spiritus et sponsa* from verse 17 with *Veni domine Iesu* from verse 20.<sup>678</sup>

What did change, however, was the context of the sentence. Initially, in the Chilean text, the sentence was part of a separate article which, as the *Notas generales* explained, dealt with the fourth aspect of the Spirit’s work: the Spirit’s involvement in eschatological growth.<sup>679</sup> This aspect was elaborated by means of six sentences, set apart by an indentation, on related aspects such as hope and expectation, longing and prayer. The quote from the Apocalypse was the last sentence. The opening word *Nam* suggest that it was summary of the two sentence on the Spirit praying in us that immediately preceded it, or of the whole topic of eschatological growth. Thus while the sentence did

<sup>678</sup> Did the Doctrinal Commission’s meeting on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1963 play a role? For Tromp noted that day in his journal “Franić talks on the words «In fidelibus et in Ecclesia» and the words «Veni Domine Iesu»”, without specifying this. See von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 271. For Franić (1912-2007), bishop of Split-Makarska (Yugoslavia), and member of the Doctrinal Commission, see Ph. Roy, “Franić, Frane”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 108-109, cf. Roy, *Le coetus internationalis patrum*, 1776.

<sup>679</sup> Aranda, Arenas (eds.), *Propuesta de Chile*, 91, cf. the original Spanish: “Aspecto 4. El Espíritu orienta hacia la revelación futura de Cristo. Es principio de orientación total de la vida hacia la vida futura”.

not of itself have an eschatology-related significance, its context provided it with such an interpretation.

However, the sentence lost more and more of its context. In his February Schema, Philips deleted the sentences on hope and prayer (see figure six), keeping only the *Ubi Ecclesia ibi et Spiritus* sentence, which he complemented with another Chilean sentence on renewal and the sentence from his February 20<sup>th</sup> draft on the Church's pilgrimage through time towards unity with her Spouse. Figure twenty-three showed how these three sentences were reduced to one single sentence on the Spirit's work of renewal towards eschatological unity.

Because of the reduction of the sentence's context, the interpretation of the sentence itself has become less obvious. While most sentences stand on their own, this sentence does not. The connection between the *Sponso* in sentence five and the *Sponsa* in sentence six suggest that the latter belongs together with the previous topic, as it originally did. That interpretation is also supported by Philips' brief reference to the sentence in his commentary on *Lumen gentium*, in which he makes precisely this connection. For according to Philips, by means of sentence six, the Council "confirms" that the personal encounter with God during our earthly lives happens "in anticipation of the full reunion with the Spouse" – which must refer to sentence five.<sup>680</sup>

Yet this interpretation comes with questions too. The sentence does not add much substance to the reflection in LG 4, but seems rather a pious, scriptural embellishment. Philips usually deleted sentences with elaborations of this type, and that was exactly what one Council father explicitly suggested. According to Basilian father Welykyj, the sentence had better be deleted: "I would omit the word «*nam Spiritus ... Veni*» and the quote, for in this place they are superfluous".<sup>681</sup> Why this did not happen and why Philips did not delete this embellishment I do not know.

In conclusion, the textual development of the sentence itself is relatively modest. The sentence maintained its eschatology-related significance. The various small changes had to do with Scriptural accuracy.

---

<sup>680</sup> Philips, *Lumen gentium*, vol. 1, 90. Cf. full text, "(le texte) ne se fait pas faute d'affirmer avec force que, par la prédication de l'évangile, l'Esprit revigore l'Église et la renouvelle continuellement. (...) Institution permanente donc, mais sans aucun vieillissement, puisque lien de la plus personnelle rencontre; et non seulement lien, mais agent efficace d'une rencontre provisoirement imparfaite, mais amorçant déjà l'union totale avec l'Époux. Car, conclut le Concile en citant les derniers mots du Nouveau Testament: l'Esprit et l'Épouse disent au Seigneur Jésus: Viens!".

<sup>681</sup> AS II/1, 747. Comment in response to Schema 2. Welykyj's comments often reveal his eye for detail. For example, he suggested to write in LG 4's opening line *Pater Filio commisit* rather than *Pater Christo commisit*.

## Sentence 7. Church, Unity, Trinity

LG 4's final sentence functions as a conclusion to LG 2-4. Figure twenty-five on the next page outlines its development from the February Philips Schema onwards.

February Philips Schema	Schema 2	Schema 3
Sicque apparet universa Ecclesia ut «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata» (S. Cyprianus, Orat. Dom., 23).	<p>— Sic<u>que</u> apparet universa Ecclesia <u>sicuti</u> «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata».<sup>2</sup></p> <p>(7) S. Cyprianus, <i>De Orat. Dom.</i> 23: PL 4, 553: CSEL 3 A, p. 285; <u>cf S. Augustinus, Serm 71, 20, 33: PL 38, 463 s.: «Societas unitatis Ecclesiae Dei, extra quam non fit remissio peccatorum, tanquam proprium est opus Spiritus Sancti, Patre sane et Filio cooperantibus, quia societas est quodammodo Patris et Filii ipse Spiritus Sanctus »; S. Ioannes Damascenus, Ad. Iconocl. 12: PG 96, 1358 D: «Credimus igitur in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Dei Ecclesiam, in qua per institutionem erudimur. Cognoscimus quoque Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, et baptizamus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti »; cf Fulgentius Rusp., Ad Monim. 2, 11: PL 65, 190 s; S. Cyrillus Hier., Catech. 5 append.: PG 33, 535-536.</u></p>	<p>Sic apparet universa Ecclesia sicuti «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata».<sup>4</sup></p> <p>(4) S. Cyprianus, <i>De Orat. Dom.</i> 23: PL 4, 553: <u>Hartel III A CSEL 3 A, p. 285.</u> <del>cf S. Augustinus, Serm. 71, 20, 33: PL 38, 463 s.: «Societas unitatis Ecclesiae Dei, ETCETERA</del> S. Ioannes Damascenus, <i>Ad. Iconocl. 12: PG 96, 1358 D: «Credimus igitur in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Dei Ecclesiam, ETCETERA</i></p>

**Figure 25.** The development of sentence seven. Crossed out: deleted. Underlined: new.

Figure twenty-five shows that the sentence underwent two textual changes. In the first place, Philips introduced in Schema 2 an indentation. In the second place, while in Schema 2 Philips developed the very short footnote reference of the February Philips Schema, in Schema 3 he reduced its length.

What is the background of these developments? The *Commentarius* to Schema 2 called this sentence “a conclusion” to articles LG 2-4: “In the conclusion of this part (DE 2-4), the connection with the most-holy Trinity is expressed with words of saint Cyprian”.<sup>682</sup> Therefore, the introduction of the indentation seems to express visually that the sentence was in fact not part of LG 4, but LG 2-4. Handwritten corrections on a copy used during the Doctrinal Commission's deliberations on March 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, show that it was introduced at or around the time of that meeting.<sup>683</sup> The fact that *que* was

<sup>682</sup> AS II/1, 230.

<sup>683</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 598, cf. no. 599.

deleted as well may well have the same significance: the sentence is not closely related with the previous one, so that *Sic* is a better opening than *Sicque* is. Further, the development of the brief reference to Cyprian into a long footnote and its later reduction seem motivated by editorial concerns for clarity and brevity.

A closer consideration of the development of the sentence before the February Philips Schema confirms its conclusive significance. The sentence dates back to the First Period. On November 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962, a group of theologians gathered in Rome sent in a couple of suggestions to improve the alternative schema that Philips had been drafting. They suggested to insert the Cyprian quote as an adjective phrase into an existing sentence on the Church, as part of a reflection on the Church as a community of grace and a *societas*, a heavenly Church animated by the Spirit as much as led by the Pope and Bishops; I quote the text in Latin and have underlined what was new in comparison to the late October 1962 schema.<sup>684</sup>

Haec igitur Ecclesia coelestis, a Spiritu Sancto animata, unificata et sanctificata, vera omnium mater et magistra, de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata (S. Cypr. Or. Dom., 23 etc), est communitas gratiae et amoris, hic in terris ut societas organice constituta, Ecclesia nempe catholica, a Romano Pontifice et Episcopis in ejus communione directa.<sup>685</sup>

Interestingly, on December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1962, Giuseppe Vairo, bishop of Gravina and Irsina (Italy), requested in reaction to Schema 1 various improvements, amongst which a clearer connection (*nexus*) of the mystical body of Christ with the Trinity. He explained that the mystical body of Christ should be understood as a divine-human communion in which, through Christ, humankind participates in the communion of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. To underline his point he quoted Cyprian.<sup>686</sup>

In his draft from February 20<sup>th</sup>, Philips – who was familiar with the quote<sup>687</sup> – inserted the Cyprian quote as had been suggested both by the theologians and Vairo.<sup>688</sup> In a subtle but fundamental

---

<sup>684</sup> For the late October text, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 425.

<sup>685</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 554. For the meeting, see Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 1, 262.

<sup>686</sup> AS I/4, 252. Cf. the Latin text: “Desideratur praeterea in schemate nexus illustratio inter Corpus Christi Mysticum et Trinitatis mysterium. In eo enim analogia tantum cum mysterio Verbi Incarnati innuitur. Corpus Christi mysticum, revera, divina et humana communio (coinonia) (sic!) est, qua ineffabilem in simplici naturae unitate communionem Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, homines, cum Christo Verbo Incarnato concorporales effecti, quodammodo participant et imitantur. Est igitur Ecclesia, ut S. Cyprianus docet, de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata”, with a footnote-reference to “De Or. Dom. c.23”.

<sup>687</sup> In 1944, Philips concluded his essay on the Trinity and the Christian life with a reference to this text, see G. Philips, “De heilige drieuldigheid in het leven van de Christen”, 244.

<sup>688</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 592, 5. Bishop Elchinger had also used the text in his sketch-like outline of a new schema that he handed in after the First Period, but he did not explicitly relate the quote to the Church, as Vairo did. It is therefore

manner the significance of the phrase changed when in the next draft Philips altered the structure of the opening reflection by introducing an article on the Holy Spirit, as the Chileans had done. Originally planning to delete the Cyprian quote, probably because it was strictly speaking superfluous,<sup>689</sup> Philips then changed his mind. He probably considered the phrase very fitting to serve as a concluding sentence that would recall the broader theological framework of articles DE 2-4, as he would explain later in the *Commentarius* to Schema 2. Thus whereas the phrase had functioned in the Schema from February 20<sup>th</sup> in the context of a reflection on the mystical body, now it had become part of the fundamental theological introduction to ecclesiology, where it served moreover not any more as an extra adjective phrase but as the concluding sentence of that entire introduction.

The sentence was not uncontested, however. In reaction to Schema 2, Cardinal Bea criticized the sentence as vague, pointing out also that the phrase did not reflect the content of article DE 4 nor of DE 2-4: “What does it mean that the Church appears «sicut de unitate Patris et Filii... plebs adunata»? That is not at all evident from what was said (in this section, JM), for there mainly the work of the Holy Spirit was explained, not the work of the Father and the Son. (...) And even if this text is considered as conclusion of the whole page 8 (this corresponds to DE 2-4, JM), it does not fit, (...) for on the whole page almost nothing is said on the manner in which this *adunatio* comes from the unity of the most-holy Trinity”.<sup>690</sup> Although Bea’s comments were not without ground – the history of the text clarifies that the sentence was originally meant for another context and had a different meaning – they did not lead to changes in the text.

Bishop Jenny pointed out that Cyprian was quoted incorrectly. The text should speak of a “priestly” people and thereby refer to the priestly ministry,<sup>691</sup> as he repeated a year later in a *modus*.<sup>692</sup> The comment was ignored, probably because the concept “priestly people”, when elaborated in the

---

improbable that Philips made use of his suggestion. See *AS* II/1, 508. Cf. full text: “L’Incarnation a pour fin la «filiation adoptive» et la «sanctification» des hommes et donc leur réunion en «famille de Dieu», en «Temple saint de Sa Présence». C’est l’unité même de Dieu qui groupe ses fils d’adoption (cf. Jn 14 et 17). St Cyprien: «de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata»”.

<sup>689</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 592, 5; the sentence was crossed out.

<sup>690</sup> *AS* II/2, 24, “quid significat Ecclesiam apparere «sicut de unitate Patris et Filii ... plebs adunata»? E praecedentibus hoc minime apparet, nam ibi fere exclusive opus Spiritus Sancti et non opus Patris et Filii explicabatur. Deinde etiam expressio ipsa non est valde clara: sensus videtur esse adunationem plebis *originem* suam habere in unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Et etiamsi hic textus ut conclusio totius pag.8 consideratur, res non quadrat; non enim constituit veram conclusionem huius paginae. Nam in tot pagina fere nihil dicitur de modo quo adunatio procedat *ab unitate* SS. Trinitatis”.

<sup>691</sup> *AS* II/2, 74, cf. Fiches Philips LG 4.

<sup>692</sup> ASV, Busta 155. Full text: “Mgr. H. Jenny, *Modus* de I<sup>o</sup> cap. «De Ecclesia» 16.09.64, manu scripta: n. 4. Pag. 9 n. 4 in fine citatur S. Cyprianus. Sed unum verbum maximi momenti omittitur. Mens S. Cypriani est: Episcopum (seu Sacerdotem) esse cui plebs adunatur. In textu dicitur: ... plebs adunata (sine complemento). Textus exactus sic esse debet: «De unitate P.F. et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata sacerdoti.» (Assonantio quidem adest inter “sancti” et “sacerdotes”, quod argumentum litterarium confirmat ea quae dici.) Et ideo non «universa» Ecclesia, sicut dicitur in textu est «plebs etc.», sed unaquaeque particularis Ecclesiae continet in se mysterium universae Ecclesiae. Quia unio fit inter plebem et sacerdotem.”

next chapter, did not have the focus on the hierarchy Jenny proposed. Bishop Hervás y Benet suggested to add to the words of Cyprian a reference to baptism in the name of the Trinity,<sup>693</sup> yet generally speaking Philips was trying to avoid this type of theological embellishment. Bishop Tabera Araoz welcomed Cyprian's words as "very beautiful", but sensed that they did would fit better as some short introduction to the chapter.<sup>694</sup> Also appreciating the words of Cyprian, qualified as "true and beautiful", Archbishop Morcillo Gonzalez was nonetheless concerned for misunderstandings in relation to appropriation.<sup>695</sup> These last comments too were without consequences, probably because the first implied a substantial revision of the structure of the text and because the issue of appropriation was not considered a danger by Philips and his team.

In conclusion the history of the sentence symbolises how during the Council the trinitarian awareness increased. Initially meant to highlight the transcendent and trinitarian dimension of the mystical body, the Cyprian quote became the conclusion of the trinitarian setting of *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiological discourse. The history shows that, although originating in Vairo's intervention or the comments by a group of theologians or both, the sentence owed much to decisions by the editors. Having planned at first to delete the text, Philips and his team upgraded the text to LG 2-4's concluding sentence. In addition, Philips decided not to heed to various comments, although we have seen that in most cases he probably had good reasons for doing so. The major motives underlying the development of this sentence are trinitarian and conciliar. For Philips tried to make use of the material that was given to him, and he did this in such a manner that he increased the trinitarian profile of the text.

### Intermediary Conclusion

What does the exploration of the redaction-historical development of LG 4 per sentence reveal about its pneumatological renewal? It both substantiates and nuances the conclusions on the pneumatological renewal of LG 4 as a whole (chapter 5.3), in which I observed that the pneumatological style of the *Schema Chilensis* was preserved; that the theological significance thereof is not so clear; and that conciliar and editorial motives played a major role in the development of the text.

In the first place, the exploration per sentence substantiates the claim that Philips preserved the Chilean pneumatological style, for he presented the activities that he added in the style of the Chilean

---

<sup>693</sup> AS II/2, 174. He suggested to add before "ut" the phrase "in quam omnes baptismate in nomine Trinitatis (cf. Mt. 18,19) recepto ingrediuntur".

<sup>694</sup> AS II/1, 729, "Forsitan ultima pericopa n. 4 huius capituli, qui pulcherrima verba S. Cypriani refert, praemittenda esset ut quoddam breve huius capituli prooemium".

<sup>695</sup> AS II/2, 183. The comment is surprising, for the sentence was about the unity of God rather than the proper roles of the three divine persons.

schema. For example, he introduced the phrase *orat in nobis*, which followed the Chilean style, and similarly for the phrase on the Spirit's teaching role. The case of unity is even clearer. For in opting for the Chilean style – *unificat* – Philips relinquished two other possibilities, both of which featured another style, namely the reference to unity of Schema 2, *unificando*, and the German-Scandinavian suggestion *unitatis principium increatum et invisibile*. In addition, in sentence five, on eschatological renewal, Philips changed the passive *perducitur* into the active *perducit*, so that the Spirit's involvement was articulated in an active manner.

In the second place, the analysis in chapter 5.4 confirms the ambiguity of Philips' preservation of the Chilean style. Did he opt for new phrases for the Chilean style out of editorial convenience, so that the article would form a unity? Or did he do so out of the pneumatological conviction that the Spirit is best understood and described as actively involved in the Church? The same question could be posed for Philips' welcoming of suggestions by the Council fathers. Did he do so out of conciliar motives, or did he embrace the underlying pneumatological convictions? And when he welcomed some conceptions and not others, such as in the case of his non-hierarchy-centered conception of Pentecost, did he do so because of his pneumatological or ecclesiological convictions, or simply for editorial reasons, because the hierarchical perspective on Pentecost was part of chapter three?

Thirdly, the analysis in this chapter confirms and substantiates the significance of the conciliar and editorial motives. Almost all sentences have been altered in response to input by Council fathers and experts. Examples include the introduction of references to prayer and truth and improvements such as *fons aquae* and *per quem Pater* in sentence 2. Moreover, all sentences underwent editorial improvements. Examples include the considerable shortening of the sentences on the Spirit's as life-giver (sentence 2) and on the Spirit's involvement in eschatological renewal (sentence 5). In addition Philips streamlined the text, for example by inverting the words "Church" and "(the hearts of) the faithful" in the sentence on indwelling (sentence 3). Philips also improved Scriptural accuracy, as is illustrated by the development of the quote from Eph 2:18 (sentence 1), the introduction of some Scripture references in relation to indwelling and the later reduction of their number (sentence 3) and the improvement of the "veni" quote (sentence 6).

Fourthly, the exploration in this chapter 5.4 nuances the earlier conclusion in chapter 5.3 in so far as we have repeatedly encountered the theological motive. The Council fathers made various suggestions for improvements or changes, that often had a theological background. That is very clear in the case of Pentecost and charisms. However, precisely these two topics also illustrated that the pneumatological convictions of the Council fathers went in various, sometimes opposed directions. At the time, the conciliar mind was everything but unanimous in matters of pneumatology.

Finally, the pneumatological development went hand in hand with an ecclesiological one. The article developed in the direction of an inclusive ecclesiology. While in the original Chilean text as well as Philips' February draft, the Spirit was in a special way related to indwelling and to hierarchy, various developments pointed in the direction of an inclusive ecclesiology. These include the

introduction of a reference to the Spirit's sanctification of the Church and to Pentecost, both without a focus on the hierarchy (sentence 1); the introduction of the topics of unity with a reference to ministry but also, and firstly, to *communio*, as well as a reference to truth without a focus on the hierarchy but rather on the Church (sentence 4).<sup>696</sup> However, did these developments reflect pneumatological or rather ecclesiological convictions? Or did they also depend on editorial ones, in so far as the document discussed the hierarchy only after it had discussed the mystery of the Church and the Church as people of God (which in turn reflected ecclesiological convictions)?

## Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to give a more detailed account of the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* from a redaction-historical perspective, that chapter five gave a brief overview of, in order to find out what *exactly* the document's deliberate pneumatological change for the better consist of. Therefore, after a brief presentation of the text of the Spirit-centered article LG 4, I have first explored its introduction (chapter 5.2). This was followed by a redaction-historical reconstruction of the development of the text, both for the text as a whole (chapter 5.3) and per sentence (chapter 5.4).

On the basis of what we have found, three conclusions may be drawn. In the first place, from a text and context-focused perspective, the pneumatological renewal in LG 4 consists in introducing an article on the Spirit that provided the document with a trinitarian introduction and foundation. That pneumatological and at the same time trinitarian renewal was an important part of a fundamental ecclesiological renewal which consisted amongst others in starting ecclesiology not with the hierarchy, as Schema 1 had done, but with God and the mystery of the Church. The concrete form of that renewal is especially remarkable for its quite particular pneumatological style that implies that, with the image employed in the conclusion to chapter 3, the Spirit is a VIP with a first row seat. At the same time, the significance of the introduction of LG 4 should not be overestimated, for the document did not consistently stick to the trinitarian approach of LG 2-4 and often used a christocentric theological framework (see chapter 5.1).

In the second place, the development of the text depends not only on pneumatological views, but also on editorial and conciliar convictions, so that LG 4's pneumatological renewal is not only about pneumatology. A given pneumatological development may be inspired primarily by editorial rather than pneumatological concerns. This was probably the case for shortening the Chilean text as well as for maintaining that style for newly added activities, for the inclusive articulation of the reference to Pentecost and for diminishing the Spirit's role by means of the *per quem Pater vivificat* phrase. Further, a given pneumatological development may well be inspired by the conciliar conviction that the Council is a common venture rather than by pneumatological convictions. This

---

<sup>696</sup> Cf. patriarch Meouchi response to Schema 3: "l'action de l'Esprit est décrite plus dans son rapport à la communauté qu'à l'individu", *AS* III/1, 728. The comment was on LG 4 as a whole, not on a particular sentence.



may well be the case for the reference to prayer and to the Spirit's teaching role, both of which were suggested by one Council father only. As pneumatological motives cannot be adequately separated from conciliar and editorial ones, there is no 'purely' pneumatological renewal.

Thirdly, including not only the letter of the text but also the mind of its authors in the way I have done in this chapter has a "demythologizing" effect. It is precisely because we know more about the background of LG 4's development that we know less what *exactly* its pneumatological renewal consists of from the perspective of the spirit of the Council, or the mind of the Council fathers. The analysis has revealed that the introduction of LG 4 was due to a few Council fathers who had commented on Schema 1's binitarian introduction, the Chileans with their alternative text and the plea by a few experts with Philips for a pneumatological reflection (and the Chilean text in particular). Yet that means also that many Council fathers did not comment on the binitarian nature of Schema 1's introduction, so that it cannot be claimed to be an expression of the conciliar mind. In this regard, it is telling that the Doctrinal Commission opted for a binitarian schema as basis for Schema 2 and that indeed various alternative texts were binitarian.

The same point could be made about what is arguably the most fundamental aspect of the pneumatological renewal in LG 4, namely its bold pneumatology. If the exploration had been limited to an analysis of the textual development, combined with what we already knew from *close reading*, the conclusion would have been straightforward: the text represents a choice for a specific type of pneumatology that from a trinitarian-theological perspective is remarkable. Exploring the authorial intentions demythologizes this clear and plain conclusion. For upon closer consideration, we do not know why the Chileans opted for this model. Neither is it clear why Philips embraced the text and why Philips, the Doctrinal Commission and the Council maintained it. That choice was never accounted for and was never discussed properly when contested. What is certain is only that it was criticised and that this critique was not followed. Both when it comes to the introduction of LG 4 at all and when it comes to its specific style, the in-depth analysis of LG 4's development, which takes into consideration not only the letter of the text but also the spirit of its authors, does not answer the question what *exactly* the document's pneumatological renewal consists of. To a lesser extent, something similar could be stated in relation to what LG 4 states about Pentecost, charisms, unity and truth.

## Chapter 6

### A Case Study of *Lumen Gentium* 48

After delving in the previous chapter into the redaction history of LG 4, in this chapter I turn to LG 48, the opening article of the chapter on “The Eschatological Character of the Pilgrim Church and her Unity with the Heavenly Church”.<sup>697</sup> In relation to this article too, I will enquire what *exactly* the pneumatological change for the better in this article consists of. Before focusing on that question however, I first introduce the text, pneumatology and context of LG 48 (chapter 6.1). Moreover, as the chapter’s redaction history differs significantly from most other chapters, I will then introduce the redaction-historical development of the chapter that LG 48 is part of (chapter 6.2). In the third part of this chapter I will turn to the question of pneumatological renewal; as LG 48 consists of four, rather different subsections, I will study those four subsections separately (chapter 6.3).

#### 6.1 Introduction: Text – Pneumatology – Context

What are LG 48’s content and context? *Lumen gentium* 48 is a relatively long reflection, with twelve sentences. In the official text version, it is divided into four paragraphs by means of indentations, as in figure twenty-six on the next page.<sup>698</sup> I have also added subtitles for each paragraph on the basis of its content and distinguished the various sentences with hard line breaks. Finally, in view of a pneumatological analysis at a later moment, I have highlighted the references to the Holy Spirit.

---

<sup>697</sup> For practical reasons, I will shorten the chapter’s title to “The Eschatology of the Church and the Saints”.

<sup>698</sup> See *AS* III/8, 825-826. Peter Hünemann’s interpretation is rather similar. According to Hünemann, the first article “thematisiert – abweichend von der Textvorlage der Kommission – den eschatologischen Charakter der Kirche selbst”, the second “entfaltet die Christologischen Grundlagen dieser eschatologischen Natur der Kirche”, the third one “charakterisiert die Zeitlichkeit der Kirche” and the fourth “thematisiert schließlich die eschatologische Berufung der Gläubigen”. See P. Hünemann, “Theologischer Kommentar zur dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche *Lumen gentium*”, vol. 2, 506-508. In his 1966 commentary, Gerard Philips opted for another structure, with other titles. He divided the text in three sections: 1. The eschatological calling of the Church (= my subsection A); 2. The future that is already present in earthly manifestation (= my sections B and C); 3. The promised fulfillment (my subsection D), see Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 164-174. Both the indentations in the text and the content plead against combining B and C, as Philips did.

<i>Lumen gentium 48</i>
<p><b>A. Introduction</b></p> <p>(1) Ecclesia, ad quam in Christo Iesu vocamur omnes et in qua per gratiam Dei sanctitatem acquirimus, nonnisi in gloria caelesti consummabitur, quando adveniet tempus restitutionis omnium (cf. Act. 3, 21) atque cum genere humano universus quoque mundus, qui intime cum homine coniungitur et per eum ad finem suum accedit, perfecte in Christo instaurabitur (cf. Eph. 1, 10; Col. 1, 20; 2 Pt. 3, 10-13).</p> <p><b>B. Foundation: Christ, Spirit, Church</b></p> <p>(2) Christus quidem exaltatus a terra omnes traxit ad seipsum (cf. Io. 12, 32 gr.); resurgens ex mortuis (cf. Rom. 6, 9) <b>Spiritum suum vivificantem in discipulos immisit et per Eum</b> Corpus suum quod est Ecclesia ut universale salutis sacramentum constituit; sedens ad dexteram Patris continuo operatur in mundo ut homines ad Ecclesiam perducatur arctiusque per eam Sibi coniungat ac proprio Corpore et Sanguine illos nutriendo gloriosae vitae suae faciat esse participes.</p> <p>(3) Restitutio ergo quam promissam exspectamus, iam incepit in Christo, provehitur <b>in missione Spiritus Sancti et per Eum (Spiritus) pergit in Ecclesia</b> in qua per fidem de sensu quoque vitae nostrae temporalis edocemur, dum opus a Patre nobis in mundo commissum cum spe futurorum bonorum ad finem perducimus et salutem nostram operamur (cf. Phil. 2, 12).</p> <p><b>C. Ecclesiology: the Church on Pilgrimage</b></p> <p>(4) Iam ergo fines saeculorum ad nos pervenerunt (cf. 1 Cor. 10, 11) et renovatio mundi irrevocabiler est constituta atque in hoc saeculo reali quodam modo anticipatur: etenim Ecclesia iam in terris vera sanctitate licet imperfecta insignitur.</p> <p>(5) Donec tamen fuerint novi coeli et nova terra, in quibus iustitia habitat (cf. 2 Pt. 3, 13), Ecclesia peregrinans, in suis sacramentis et institutionibus, quae ad hoc aevum pertinent, portat figuram huius saeculi quae praeterit et ipsa inter creaturas degit quae ingemiscunt et parturiunt usque adhuc et exspectant revelationem filiorum Dei (cf. Rom. 8, 19-22).</p> <p><b>D. Spirituality: the Christian Eschatological Life</b></p> <p>(6) Coniuncti ergo Christo in Ecclesia et <b>signati Spiritu Sancto «qui (Spiritus) est pignus hereditatis nostrae»</b> (Eph. 1, 14), vere filii Dei nominamur et sumus (cf. 1 Io. 3, 1), sed nondum apparuimus cum Christo in gloria (cf. Col. 3, 4), in qua similes Deo erimus, quoniam videbimus Eum sicuti est (cf. 1 Io. 3, 2).</p> <p>(7) Itaque «dum sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a Domino» (2 Cor. 5,6) et <b>primitias Spiritus habentes</b> intra nos gemimus (cf. Rom. 8, 23) et cupimus esse cum Christo (cf. Phil. 1, 23).</p> <p>(8) Eadem autem caritate urgemur ut magis vivamus Ei, qui pro nobis mortuus est et resurrexit (cf. 2 Cor. 5, 15).</p> <p>(9) Contendimus ergo in omnibus placere Domino (cf. 2 Cor. 5, 9) et induimus armaturam Dei, ut possimus stare adversus insidias diaboli et resistere in die malo (cf. Eph. 6, 11-13).</p> <p>(10) Cum vero nesciamus diem neque horam, monente Domino, constanter vigilemus oportet ut, expleto unico terrestris nostrae vitae cursu (cf. Hebr. 9, 27), cum Ipso ad nuptias intrare et cum benedictis connumerari mereamur (cf. Mt. 25, 31-46), neque sicut servi mali et pigri (cf. Mt. 25, 26) iubeamur discedere in ignem aeternum (cf. Mt 25,41), in tenebras exteriores ubi «erit fletus et stridor dentium» (Mt. 22, 13 et 25, 30).</p> <p>(11) Etenim, antequam cum Christo glorioso regnemus, omnes nos manifestabimur «ante tribunal Christi, ut referat unusquisque propria corporis, prout gessit sive bonum sive malum» (2 Cor. 5, 10) et in fine mundi «procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem vitae, qui vero mala egerunt, in resurrectionem iudicii» (Io. 5, 29; cf. Mt. 25, 46).</p> <p>(12) Existimantes proinde quod «non sunt condignae passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam, quae revelabitur in nobis» (Rom. 8, 18; cf. 2 Tim. 2, 11-12), fortes in fide exspectamus «beatam spem et adventum gloriae magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi» (Tit. 2, 13), «qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostrae configuratum corpori claritatis suae» (Phil. 3, 21) et qui veniet «glorificari in sanctis suis et admirabilis fieri in omnibus, qui crediderunt» (2 Thess. 1, 10).</p>

**Figure 26.** The structure of LG 48. Subtitles and sentence numbers added. Bold: Spirit-references

The overview shows that article LG 48 discusses the Church's eschatology from various perspectives. It starts with a brief introduction of the Church's eschatology (A). The single, dense, introductory sentence has an all-encompassing and cosmic eschatological perspective. It includes the Church, the whole human race and the whole world, with brief references to Christ and to God as well.

The introduction is followed by two theological paragraphs in between (B, C). The first of these provides a short salvation-historical foundation for what has just been stated. After Christ's work in the past and his ongoing involvement in the Church through the "life-giving Spirit" have been highlighted (sentence 2), the text specifies that thus the "restitution" which Christ has promised is both already given – in Christ and in the Holy Spirit – and yet to be expected (sentence 3).<sup>699</sup> The next paragraph too elaborates the "already" and "not yet" of the fulness of times, focusing now on the Church, with no references to God, Christ, or the Holy Spirit except for the indirect reference to the "revelation of the sons of God". The Church, being on a pilgrimage towards the end of times, is stated both to anticipate the new world (sentence 4) and to "carry the mark of this world which will pass" (sentence 5).

LG 48 concludes with a final, relatively long subsection on eschatological spirituality (D). While the first three paragraphs contained together five sentences, this paragraph consists of seven sentences. As, in the words of Council *peritus* Semmelroth, "(the eschatological) particularity of the Church must be realised existentially in the behaviour of her members",<sup>700</sup> the focus is on the faithful and the eschatological lifestyle they are called to. Supporting its reflection with a vast array of Scripture references, the text first elaborates the foundation of the Christian life, namely that the faithful are "joined to Christ in the Church and sealed with/by the Holy Spirit" and thereby truly "sons (and daughters, JM) of God" (sentence 6). Sentences 7-12 address aspects of an eschatological spirituality of sonship, such as vigilance and the final judgement. As Semmelroth observes, the implications for a Christian attitude towards earthly goods, culture, society are notably absent.<sup>701</sup>

Sometimes LG 48 does mention the Holy Spirit and sometimes not. While the introduction in LG 48-A only refers to Christ and God (probably meaning the Father), the theological foundation in paragraph B repeatedly mentions the Spirit. He is described as the instrument Christ works through and with (sentence 2) and linked to the restitution Christ gives (sentence 3), even though the exact

---

<sup>699</sup> It is distressing that Peter Hünemann interpreted this paragraph with no more than a single mention of the Holy Spirit and therefore more Christ-centered than the text itself: "LG 48,2 entfaltet die Christologischen Grundlagen dieser eschatologischen Natur der Kirche. Die Kirche ist das Werk der erhöhten Herrn, der alle an sich zieht, den lebendigmachenden Geist geschickt und die Kirche zum universalen Sakrament des Heiles gemacht hat (...)." See Hünemann, "Theologischer Kommentar zur dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche *Lumen gentium*", 506-507.

<sup>700</sup> O. Semmelroth, "Kommentar zum VII. Kapitel", Vorgrimler (ed.), *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 314-325, 317.

<sup>701</sup> Cf. Hünemann, "Theologischer Kommentar zur dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche *Lumen gentium*", 508.

pneumatology of the latter sentence is not clear as the phrases *provehitur in missione Spiritus* and *per eum pergit* are open to a variety of meanings. After the ecclesiological paragraph C with (almost) no reference to God, the final spiritually-focused subsection D refers three times to the Spirit, in sentences 6 and 7, in which the Spirit is described as a first reward and a token of what is to come.

As I pointed out in chapter four, the introduction to this Second Part, LG 48's pneumatology is rather different from LG 4's. As the only explicitly active verbs are *vivificantem* (sentence 2) and *est pignus hereditatis nostrae* (sentence 6), the references to the Spirit suggest rather than explicitly specify an active involvement. In addition, a substantial number of phrases in which the Spirit is mentioned imply a passive involvement, such as *per eum* (sentence 2) and *primitias habentes* (sentence 3). Moreover, the Spirit is conceived very much in a Christological context, as Christ's replacement or follow-up. From an argumentative perspective, the references to the Spirit are clarifying rather than foundational.

## Chapter Seven

What is the place of LG 48's reflection on eschatology in its immediate context, chapter seven? The chapter's full title, "The Eschatological Character of the Pilgrim Church and her Unity with the Heavenly Church", suggests that eschatology is not the only interest of the chapter. The chapter may indeed be divided into two parts. It opens with a reflection on the Church's eschatology (LG 48), after which the other articles focus on the saints and the afterlife or, in the language of the title, the heavenly Church (LG 49-51).<sup>702</sup>

Section LG 49 marks the transition from the pilgrim Church to the heavenly Church. First specifying the three groups of Christians on earth, in purgatory and in heaven, the article stresses the "communion between the heavenly Church and the pilgrim Church", as the section's working title read in the one-but-last version.<sup>703</sup> Especially the "exchange of spiritual gifts" (*spiritualium bonorum communio*) is developed by referring amongst others to the intercession of the saints. While the working title of article LG 49 started from the heavenly Church, LG 50 begins once more on our side, elaborating "the association (*conversatio*) of the pilgrim Church with the heavenly Church", as the working title read.<sup>704</sup> Various topics are addressed. The topic of the veneration of saints, introduced somewhat defensively as a practice held "right from the very early period of the Christian religion", is followed by a reflection on the saints' stimulating example of unity with Christ and on our fraternal charity and friendship with them. The article concludes with a brief note on liturgy. The final article

---

<sup>702</sup> According to Semmelroth ("Kommentar zum VII. Kapitel", 314-315), LG 48-49 discuss eschatology and LG 50-51 the veneration of saints. Both in the light of the title and in the light of the development of the chapter, it is more accurate to speak about the communion (or unity) with the heavenly Church rather than veneration, and to separate LG 48 and LG 49.

<sup>703</sup> *AS* III/5, 51, "De communione Ecclesiae caelestis cum Ecclesia peregrinante".

<sup>704</sup> *AS* III/5, 52, "De Ecclesiae peregrinantis conversatione cum Ecclesia caelesti".

LG 51 is rather more pastoral and practical in character. It warns against abuses, both in the form of an outward worship that obscures the inward one and the misunderstanding that the veneration of saints would harm the worship of Father, Son, and Spirit. The article ends with a few conclusive and doxological phrases.

Although LG 48 stands somewhat on its own, it is therefore not without connection with articles LG 49-51. With its eschatological consideration of the Church, LG 48 provides the specific topics treated in LG 49-51 with a fundamental eschatological, theological and ecclesiological background. Without LG 48, the topics of the saints and the afterlife would be loose elements; with LG 48, they are connected to *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiological backbone. LG 48 functions as linking pin between LG 49-51 and the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church as a whole.

A critical analysis reveals nonetheless various tensions.<sup>705</sup> In the first place, the complicated and long title suggests that it is everything but straightforward to combine the two topics of the Church on pilgrimage (LG 48) and (the relationship with) the heavenly Church (LG 49-51). During the Council, Cardinal Paul-Émile Léger expressed his disappointment that LG 48 (at the time: LG 48-D) was only an "introduction" to "three long (*prolixis*) articles on the relations between the Christians on a pilgrimage and the heavenly Church".<sup>706</sup> Shortly after the Council, Philips spoke of the "complicated" title and pointed out that the text has "a double subject". He blamed the redaction history, explaining that the original text on the exchange between the Church on earth and in heaven had been combined with a reflection on eschatology, with the latter serving as "framework" for the former.<sup>707</sup> Similarly, the American Jesuit John Haughey deplored around the same time that "despite the chapter's title, this is communion-of-saints ecclesiology, not community-of-pilgrims ecclesiology".<sup>708</sup>

A related, second tension consists in different ecclesiological and eschatological conceptions. LG 48 features a dynamic, salvation-historical ecclesiology and eschatology, in which the Church is conceived as the faithful on their pilgrimage to eschatological fulfillment. LG 49's ecclesiological concept is both broader, including the heavenly realm, and less concerned with a salvation-historical pilgrimage. It is about three "types" of Church: the Church militant, suffering, and triumphant, and the relationship between these. As LG 49 reads: some of his disciples are pilgrims on earth, others who have departed this life are being purified, while others are in glory gazing «clearsighted on God himself as He is, three in one» (*alii ... alii ... alii ...*). It is no coincidence that in writing on "Die

---

<sup>705</sup> For a partly similar and partly complementary account of these tensions, see C. Müller, *Die Eschatologie des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils: Die Kirche als Zeichen und Werkzeug der Vollendung* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2002), 176-186.

<sup>706</sup> *AS* III/1, 481.

<sup>707</sup> Philips, *L'église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 161-162 and 164.

<sup>708</sup> J.C. Haughey, "Church and Kingdom: Ecclesiology in the Light of Eschatology", *Theological Studies* 29 (1968), 72-86, 84.

Communio der drei kirchlichen Stände”, the Austrian Dominican Christoph Schönborn discussed especially LG 49-51, not LG 48.<sup>709</sup>

Another tension has to do with the unusually pastoral and practical nature of article LG 51. In his introduction to the history of the text in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (1966), Philips described the content of the last article as consisting in pastoral guidelines,<sup>710</sup> which is indeed the working title that the article bore in a previous version.<sup>711</sup> This makes the article stand out in relation both to article LG 49-50 and to the Constitution as a whole. Should the chapter perhaps be divided into three articles: LG 48, LG 49-50 and LG 51?

Fourthly, the distribution of the material in articles LG 49 and LG 50 too raises questions. After LG 49 has specified seven aspects of what the saints contribute to the “exchange (*communicatio*) of spiritual gifts”,<sup>712</sup> LG 50 turns to our side of the exchange. Starting with the prayer for the deceased, it refers to the fraternal charity towards the saints and notes the importance of the liturgy for celebrating the unity with the heavenly Church. However, by mentioning the example given by the saints, it returns to an aspect that belongs rather to the type of aspects discussed in LG 49, namely the heavenly side. Moreover, another aspect of our contribution to the exchange of gifts, the veneration of the saints, is discussed in the next section, LG 51.

At the surface, these tensions stem for a major part from the redaction-historical development of the text. The chapter was originally designed as a (separate) text on the veneration of the saints, and later prefaced with an eschatological introductory section. A tension between what we have heard Haughey call the “communion-of-saints” and “communion-of-pilgrims” ecclesiologies was therefore to be expected.<sup>713</sup> The same tension exists at the level of *Lumen gentium* as a whole in so far as it

---

<sup>709</sup> C. Schönborn, “Die Communio der drei kirchlichen Stände”, *Internationale katholische Zeitschrift Communio* 17 (1988), 8-20, 9.

<sup>710</sup> Philips, “Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche”, 153, cf. “Hieraus ergeben sich die pastoralen Richtlinien des Konzils, das an die Lehre der alten Konzilien über die Bilderverehrung erinnert. Diese Leitlinien (...)”.

<sup>711</sup> See the June 1964 draft, with the working title “Concilium statuit dispositiones pastorales”, *AS* III/1, 340; that working title was maintained in the final, October 1964 draft, see *AS* III/5, 54.

<sup>712</sup> For the full list, cf. the following quote, with numbers added: “Ex eo enim quod coelites intimius cum Christo uniuntur, (1) totam Ecclesiam in sanctitatem firmitus consolidant, (2) cultum, quem ipsa hic in terris Deo exhibet, nobilitant (3) ac multipliciter ad ampliorem eius aedificationem contribuunt (cf. 1Cor 12,12-27). Nam (4) in patriam recepti et praesentes ad Dominum (cf. 2Cor 5, 8), per Ipsum, cum Ipso et in Ipso non desinunt apud Patrem pro nobis intercedere, (5) exhibentes merita quae per unum Mediatorem Dei et hominum, Christum Iesum (cf. 1Tim 2,5) in terris sunt adepti, (6) Domino in omnibus servientes et (7) adimplentes ea quae desunt passionum Christi in carne sua pro Corpore Eius quod est Ecclesia (cf. Col 1,24). Eorum proinde fraterna sollicitudine infirmitas nostra plurimum iuvatur”. The last sentence may be interpreted as a summary of the previous seven aspects or as another, eighth aspect.

<sup>713</sup> Cf. Philips’ critique of the words earthly and heavenly Church, that reminded of the preconiliar rather than the conciliar mindset. He explained this from the fact that the chapter had been inserted in the text at a late moment, Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 190, cf. “Qu’on veuille se rappeler que le chapitre VII a été inséré dans la Constitution en dernière minute et avec quelque précipitation”.

refers only incidentally to the saints.<sup>714</sup> Therefore, claiming that with this chapter the longstanding “isolation in theology and devotion” of the topic of the saints is overcome, as the German theologian Gerhard Müller did, is not warranted by the facts; in fact, the topic of the saints is not an integral part of *Lumen gentium*.<sup>715</sup>

Yet these tensions reflect also the theological renewal that was taking shape. Congar’s early response, as member of the Preparatory Theological Commission, illustrates what was at stake. Distancing himself from the more or less standard, preconciliar approach to eschatology and introducing instead the categories of (salvation) history and ecclesiology, he wrote in September 1960:

S’il est un point que les travaux bibliques ont manifesté d’une manière substantiellement [sic] concordante, c’est bien l’importance décisive du point de vue eschatologique. Il s’agit ici de tout autre chose que les classiques chapitres «De Novissimis». Il s’agit du fait que le terme où le Propos salutaire de Dieu doit trouver sa consommation, est ce qui donne son sens à tout ce qui se passe dans l’Histoire et à toutes les réalités d’Église. L’Église est le Corps du Christ; on pourrait aussi bien la définir comme le sacrement ou l’institution collective et publique du salut eschatologique.<sup>716</sup>

The final text situates itself at the crossroads. It contains elements that were typically part of a preconciliar eschatology, such as judgement, heaven, hell, purgatory, with a focus on the individual, the afterlife and spiritual vigilance. Unsurprisingly, the inclusion and development of these topics had often been requested by more traditional Council fathers. Other elements originated in a different, much more historical and communal mindset: Christ as fulfillment of history, the pilgrim Church, the Kingdom of God, already and not yet realised, and an eschatological lifestyle here and now.<sup>717</sup>

---

<sup>714</sup> See notably the chapter on sainthood (LG 39-42). It contains brief references to the saints: at the end of article LG 40, on the abundant fruits of the holiness of the people of God, “as is clearly shown in the history of the Church through (*per*) the lives of so many saints”; LG 41 briefly points to holy priests who leave priests of today an example to be followed; and LG 42 notes that there have “from the earliest times” been martyrs in the Church.

<sup>715</sup> G. Müller, “Der theologische Ort der Heiligen: Überlegungen zum ekklesiologischen Ansatz des 2. Vatikanischen Konzils”, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 108 (1986), 145-154, 151-152. Possibly, Müller’s simplified view on the text’s redaction history is to blame, cf. “Erst als man begriff, daß man Kirche nicht ohne ihren eschatologischen Bezug beschreiben kann, kamen die Heiligen in Blick”, 151. For in fact, the chapter did not start as an eschatological text, but rather as a consideration on the saints. The substantial eschatological reflection in LG 48-B, LG 48-C and the second half of LG 48-A was only added at the very last moment.

<sup>716</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 54, 6 (dated September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1960, see 17).

<sup>717</sup> For background and details, see Müller, *Die Eschatologie des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, esp. “Die katholische Eschatologie im Vor- und Umfeld des Konzils”, 14-26; P.C. Phan, “Roman Catholic Theology”, J.L. Walls (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 215-232, esp. 216-218; I. Escribano-Alberca, *Eschatologie. Von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart (Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte, Band IV, vol. 7d.)* (Freiburg: Herder, 1987), esp. 149-165 and 219-238. Cf. Karl Rahner’s statement in his oft-referred to lemma in the 1959 *Lexikon für*



Interestingly, even the topic of the saints belonged to both streams. On the one hand, it typically reflected the preconconciliar preference for the invisible heavenly world, and on the other hand it stretched ecclesiology beyond the focus on the visible Church that was typical for the mystical body ecclesiology sanctioned by Pius XII towards the transcendent realm.

### **The Holy Spirit in Chapter Seven**

In the same way as the place of LG 48 in the whole of chapter seven may be approached positively and critically, so too its pneumatology. The total number of Spirit-propositions in LG 48, namely twelve, is significantly higher than the total number of Spirit-propositions in LG 49-51, namely five. In the latter articles, the role of the Holy Spirit is occasionally mentioned. LG 49 contains a brief reference to the Holy Spirit, when those united in the Church are described as belonging to Christ and having his Spirit (*Spiritum eius habentes*). LG 50 contains two brief reference to the Holy Spirit, namely the proposition that the saints do not only set an example but also foster the Church's unity "in the Holy Spirit" through the exercise of charity, and the proposition that the power of the Holy Spirit works in the liturgy on the faithful. Finally, one of LG 51's doxological sentences is explicitly trinitarian.

In the light of the place of LG 48 in the chapter, one could argue that LG 48's pneumatology lays the pneumatological foundations for what follows in the subsequent articles. However, from a more critical perspective, one could also interpret the pneumatological difference between LG 48 and the other three articles as still another tension within chapter seven.

### **The Whole of *Lumen Gentium***

How does LG 48 fit into the whole of *Lumen gentium*?<sup>718</sup> As we saw earlier, according to Philips, *Lumen gentium* has a 4 times 2-structure (see chapter 2.1). After two opening chapters with fundamental theological considerations on the Church as mystery and people of God, chapters three and four take up the Church's concrete structure as hierarchy and laity. Chapters five and six elaborate what Philips calls the *finalité* of the Church, namely holiness, both as a shared calling of all Christians and one that is lived in a special way by the religious. Finally, chapter seven belongs together with the chapter on Mary. These chapters address the final reality of the Church, both more abstractly as an eschatological reality, and more concretely in relation to the saints and Mary.

---

*Theologie und Kirche*, "Das Traktat der Eschatologie ist noch sehr am Anfang seiner Geschichte; das Geschichtliche hat in der Theologie des Christentums noch am wenigsten Geschichte gehabt", K. Rahner, "Eschatologie", J. Höfer, K. Rahner (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Freiburg: Herder, 1959), 1094-1098, 1095.

<sup>718</sup> Stretching contextual considerations to include the whole of the Council, especially *Gaudium et spes*, is beyond the scope of this study.

This interpretation increases the significance of LG 48 in a double manner. In the first place, if chapters seven and eight belong together, LG 48 is not only the linking pin for the articles on the heavenly Church, but also for the chapter on Mary. Already at the time of the Council, various Council fathers welcomed the chapter for precisely that reason. Cardinal Rufino Jiao Santos, archbishop of Manila (Philippines), commented during the discussion of chapter seven that the chapter resolved the “big problem” how to integrate the chapter on Mary in such a way that it would not only be an isolated extra.<sup>719</sup> After the Council Philips summarized: “ce chapitre introduit sur le tard s’avère former une transition adéquate vers la description, dans la même perspective christocentrique, de la doctrine catholique sur *la Mère de Dieu* et son culte”.<sup>720</sup>

In the second place, one may argue that with these two chapters – and, again, in particular with LG 48 – the reflection returns to the fundamental theological perspective of the opening chapters. In these chapters the focus is not on the Church’s concrete manifestation as in chapters three and four, nor on her objective, as in chapters five and six, but on her ultimate reality, now conceived not foundationally, as the first chapters did, but eschatologically. According to Philips the chapter was an unexpected yet most welcome surprise and contributed to a better understanding of the second chapter, on the pilgrim people of God.<sup>721</sup> In so far as the more general treatment of the topic is found mainly in LG 48, it is especially on the basis of LG 48 that chapters seven and eight have their prominent complementary function in relation to chapters one and two.

---

<sup>719</sup> AS III/1, 381-382, cf. “Constitutio nostra ex additione huius capitis et ex loco quem actu occupat, maiore prorsus organicitate gaudet. Fuit enim magnum problema caput de B. Maria Virgine ita in hanc constitutionem aptare, ut illud non remaneret isolatum, et quasi ex abrupto, ab extrinseco superadditum”. Cardinal Larraona was aware of this advantage and used it for recommending to add the text to *De Ecclesia*, see e.g. his February 1964 letters to Pope Paul VI and to Ottaviani, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1006, 1008. The Subcommission was also aware of the advantage, cf. the minutes of the March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1964, meeting, *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1019. Santos (1908-1973) was a member of the Central Preparatory Commission and the Doctrinal Commission, and supported the *Coetus internationalis patrum*. During the Second Period, Cardinal Santos and Cardinal König had held a discussion on the question of Mary was to have a separate document or not, with Santos in favor for a separate document and König pleading for integration into *De Ecclesia*, see AS II/3, 338-445. For Santos, see Ph. Roy, “Santos, Rufino Jiao”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 238-239; Roy, *Le coetus internationalis patrum*, 1673, 1677-1678.

<sup>720</sup> Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 164.

<sup>721</sup> Philips, *L’église et son mystère*, vol. 2, 163, “Cette idée (about eschatology and hope, JM) nous conduit de façon imprévue à un heureux enrichissement de la Constitution sur l’Église. L’élargissement ne nous permet pas seulement de considérer l’Église dans son ensemble, y compris son couronnement final, mais il nous fournit le sens de la marche en avant, au concret, la signification de l’espérance. Ce n’est que maintenant que nous sommes à même de comprendre pleinement le chapitre II sur le Peuple de Dieu en marche”.

## 6.2 The Development of Chapter Seven

After the text-focused exploration of the previous section, in this section I turn to the chapter's redaction-history. The objective is not to spell out all its details but to provide sufficient background for a detailed investigation of LG 48's pneumatological development in chapter 6.3. It is due to an overview composed by the chapter's main editor, Paolo Molinari.<sup>722</sup> The redaction history of chapter seven may be divided into four major phases, during which a large variety of drafts was produced. The timeline below lists the major moments.

First Phase	
January 1961	Article Molinari in <i>Gregorianum</i> on the saints. Followed by meeting with John XXIII, who requested a book on the saints.
May 1962	Molinari's book published. Larraona meets John XXIII, who requests a draft text on the saints.
July 1962	First draft. On the veneration of the saints.
December 1962	<i>De Ecclesia</i> discussed in the Council hall.
Sept-Oct 1963	Draft "V". On the unity of the pilgrim and triumphant Church, and especially the saints. Also on canonization.
Second Phase	
October 1963	Decision to integrate the draft into <i>De Ecclesia</i> .
January 1964	Draft "VIII". On the unity of the pilgrim and triumphant Church. With a new opening section. Submitted to the Doctrinal Commission.
Third Phase	
February 1964	Subcommission edits the text: König, Santos, Garrone; with amongst others Molinari and Philips.
March 1964	Text reorganised into four articles: <i>Textus prior</i> (AS III/1).
June 1964	Discussion in the Doctrinal Commission, editing by a delegation of the subcommission: <i>Textus emendatus</i> (AS III/1).
Fourth Phase	
September 1964	<i>Textus emendatus</i> discussed in the Council hall.
September 1964	First improved draft, called CSVII, no. 1970, followed by further improvements in the subcommission and Doctrinal Commission.
October 1964	Improved draft, AS III/V, with substantially enlarged opening section; references to the Holy Spirit added; topics of judgement, hell, purgatory, heaven added.
November	Modified text; AS III/VIII. Approved and promulgated.

**Figure 27.** The redaction history of chapter seven.

<sup>722</sup> P. Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII della costituzione dogmatica «Lumen Gentium»: Indole escatologica della chiesa pellegrinante e sua unione con la chiesa celeste", *Miscellanea in occasione del IV centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (1588-1988)* (Città del Vaticano: Guerra, 1988), 113-158. This remains the richest available source on the matter. Cf. the overview of dates in CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1497 (the document is from January 1964). Cf. Christof Müller's detailed analysis of *Lumen gentium*'s chapter seven, in Müller, *Die Eschatologie des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, 52-150. While worthwhile for its breadth and therefore complementing what I offer in this chapter, Müller's account fails to discuss the early origins of the chapter. Has he overlooked Molinari's 1988 text? Moreover, Müller distinguished the topics "community and history", "salvation and fulfillment" and "pragmatics and practise", and linked the redaction history to the second topic. This is unconvincing in the light of the actual development of the chapter, which involved all three categories.

## The First Phase

The first phase covers the development of the first drafts of a text on the saints. Although meant to complement *De Ecclesia* with an important topic that was overlooked, these drafts were at this stage conceived as separate documents. There does not seem to be a direct link to the Council's Preparatory Period either.<sup>723</sup> Rather, when the separate document had evolved to a chapter of *De Ecclesia* and was officially presented to the Council fathers in the summer of 1964, the *Relatio generalis* explained its origin from the wish of John XXIII: "this chapter has been introduced according to the wish of Pope John XXIII, who has commissioned Cardinal Larraona to prepare with a special subcommission a text".<sup>724</sup>

Although that is not untrue, the whole truth is more nuanced and involved two other persons. The first of these is Paolo Molinari, an Italian Jesuit who worked as postulator at the Jesuit Curia, and who published in the January 1961 issue of *Gregorianum* an article on the saints.<sup>725</sup> Worried by minimalistic attention for the saints in theology, spirituality and ecclesial practise, Molinari pleaded for a (moderate) theology of the saints, arguing that this would fit in well with certain modern sensitivities such as a focus on the (individual) person. The article also contained an apologetical and a practical part. At the end of the article, Molinari briefly observed that the topic of the saints was lacking in theological treatises on the Church: "In erster Linie bedürfte es heute dringend einer systematischen *dogmatischen Abhandlung*, die alle Grundlagen und Grundgedanken dieses wichtigen Sektors unserer Theologie harmonisch verarbeitet. Diese Abhandlung «de Sanctis» könnte unseres Erachtens sinnvoll und logisch in eine dogmatische Abhandlung «*De Ecclesia*» eingefügt werden, deren Mangel man schon lebhaft empfindet und um die man sich schon vielfach bemüht hat".<sup>726</sup>

The article drew the attention of Pope John, who invited Molinari for an audience to discuss the article and requested him to develop the topic further and to write a study on the heavenly Church and the veneration of the saints.<sup>727</sup> That book was published in May 1962 under the title *I Santi e il*

---

<sup>723</sup> The *Acta* show that the veneration of the saints had been mentioned during that Period, see the article "De cultu sanctorum" in the *Conspectus analyticus*, *ADA*, Appendix II, 342-349. Yet Molinari, the main editor of the drafts, referred to these neither in his article (1961) and book (1962), nor in his historical overview (1988). Related topics include membership of the mystical body, that is, if those in heaven and in purgatory are members of the mystical body, see e.g. *ADA*, II/7, 610; classical eschatological themes, such as judgement, purgatory, heaven and hell, see *Conspectus analyticus*, *ADA*, App. I, 176-179; eschatology as a cure to materialism, *ADA*, II/1, 577-593.

<sup>724</sup> *AS* III/1, 351.

<sup>725</sup> Molinari (1924-2014) was also a professor at the Gregorian University. For the article, see P. Molinari, "Alcune riflessioni teologiche sulla funzione dei Santi nella Chiesa", *Gregorianum* 42 (1961), 63-96. I will use the German translation, P. Molinari, "Einige theologische Erwägungen über die Bedeutung der Heiligen in der Kirche", P. Molinari, *Die Heiligen und Ihre Verehrung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), 15-56.

<sup>726</sup> Molinari, "Die Bedeutung der Heiligen in der Kirche", 53.

<sup>727</sup> See the testimony by Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 117-118.

*loro culto*.<sup>728</sup> In an overview of important dates composed by himself, Molinari recalled that when this study was presented to John XXIII, he gave order to develop a draft for a conciliar text: “Maggio 1962: mentre il frutto di questo studio era presso Sua Santità Giovanni XXIII, questi dava l’incarico a S. Em.za il Cardinale Larraona di provvedere alla redazione di un uno Schema di Costituzione che trattasse della Chiesa Trionfante e dei nostri rapporti con essa”.<sup>729</sup> Clearly therefore, not only John XXIII played a role, Molinari did too.

The meeting Molinari referred to took place on May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1962, and was with the Spanish Cardinal Arcadio Larraona, member of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CMF) and prefect of the Congregation of the Rites.<sup>730</sup> That congregation was responsible for the liturgy and the sacraments as well as the canonization of saints. Larraona’s recollections of the meeting are worth citing too, as they demonstrate that Larraona played an active role as well. In a personal note, recorded by Molinari, Larraona neither specified that it was John XXIII who noted the saints-related weakness in the text nor that it was he who proposed to mend it; instead he hinted at his own role: “In May 1962, after it had been notified (*essendo stato fatto notare*) to his holiness John XXIII that there was a serious lacuna in the redaction of the *Schema De Ecclesia*, namely, a consideration of the aspect of the glorified and triumphant Church, in an audience that I had with the Holy Father, I was authorised (*fui autorizzato*) by him to occupy myself with this material”.<sup>731</sup> This testimony implies that Larraona’s role was not only to receive John XXIII’s wish, as the *Relatio* suggested. A good explanation seems to be that, in convincing or impressing the Council fathers, who until the summer of 1964 were not (officially) aware of this project, it was strategically more powerful to refer to a papal wish, as the *Relatio* did, than to Molinari’s and Larraona’s concern.

The first draft, dated July 31<sup>st</sup>, 1962 and written mainly by Molinari,<sup>732</sup> bore the title “Proposal for a conciliar text on the veneration of the saints”.<sup>733</sup> It shows indeed that Larraona and his team

---

<sup>728</sup> P. Molinari, *I Santi e il loro culto*. Con una Prefazione di sua Eminenza il Cardinale Arcadio Larraona, Prefetto della Sacra Congregazione dei Riti (Roma: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1962); I will use the German translation: *Die Heiligen und Ihre Verehrung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1964). This was meant to be a “studio teologico e pastorale sui rapporti esistenti tra la Chiesa Trionfante e in specie sui Santi e il loro culto”, thus Molinari in a chronological overview composed in January 1964, CSVII, Archive Philips, 1497, 1.

<sup>729</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, 1497, 1. The note also specified that the objective of the text was precisely to complement the lacuna Molinari had observed in the 1961 article, to complement the conciliar ecclesiology with a reflection on the saints.

<sup>730</sup> Larraona (1887-1973), member of the Claretians (CMF), was appointed Prefect of the Congregation of the Rites on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1962. He was actively involved in the *Coetus internationalis Patrum* from the Third Period onwards, see Ph. Roy, “Larraona, Arcadio María”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 161-162.

<sup>731</sup> Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 119.

<sup>732</sup> Molinari noted that the end of the academic year was not a particularly felicitous time for requesting university professors to work on drafts and that, after talking about the matter with “two or three”, Larraona asked him to “redigere un testo che potesse servire di base a future discussioni e scambi di idee fra i membri del gruppo”, see Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 120. That team consisted also of Gaetano Stano (1909-2005), an Italian conventual Franciscan, professor in Rome (Bonaventura faculty), who worked amongst others at the Congregation for the Rites; Ignacio Iparraguirre (1911-1973), a

conceived the project as a separate document, focused on the saints. The draft used the theological framework of the mystical body to articulate the relations between the heavenly and the “militant” Church in a way that resembles the argument in Molinari’s book.<sup>734</sup> Subsequent text versions from March 1963, April 1963 and September-October 1963, were expanded with a reflection on the procedure of canonization, which confirms once more that the focus was on the saints, not on ecclesiology or eschatology.<sup>735</sup> The September-October 1963 text explicitly spoke of the objective to “complement” *De Ecclesia* with a reflection on the saints.<sup>736</sup> By that time Pope John had passed away, yet the project continued to have papal support, for in a private audience with Cardinal Larraona on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1963, Paul VI too embraced it.<sup>737</sup>

Although the project was not officially known to the Council fathers or the Doctrinal Commission, it resonated with some comments by council fathers. During the First Period, Adam Kozłowiecki, a Polish Jesuit and archbishop of Lusaka (Zambia), requested that “in the theological description of the Church, its essentially eschatological characteristic (*indoles*) should also be strongly insisted on”, meaning, Mary and saints.<sup>738</sup> Cardinal Bea complained that Schema 1 only dealt with the *ecclesia militans*, not the *Ecclesia consummanda et glorificanda*.<sup>739</sup> And Bishop Ghattas made the same points as Kozłowiecki and Bea.<sup>740</sup> These comments could be inspired by Larraona, who had been lobbying for his cause in November and December 1962.<sup>741</sup>

---

Spanish Jesuit and church historian, with an interest in spirituality and the saints, and working in the Jesuit historical institute in Rome; Narciso Garces (1904-1989), belonging to the Claratians (CMF) like Cardinal Larraona, and Mariologist; and Marie-Michel Labourdette (1908-1990), a Dominican from France, moral theologian and director of the *Revue Thomiste*. In his diary, Tromp also mentioned Grillmeier and another Jesuit, a certain father Leal, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 409.

<sup>733</sup> Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 120-121.

<sup>734</sup> See Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 121. For the book, cf. the chapter “Allgemeine Erwägungen über die Natur der lebendigen Wechselbeziehungen innerhalb des mystischen Leibes”, in Molinari, *Die Heiligen und ihre Verehrung*, 76-83.

<sup>735</sup> For the dates, see Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 122, 131-135. The last of these, dated by Molinari as “September – 1<sup>st</sup> of October” (at 133), is called Draft V and is copied in full in the Appendix, 159-167.

<sup>736</sup> See the introduction: “Oecumenicum Concilium Vaticanum Secundum, postquam ampliore iam modo De Ecclesia Peregrinante ...docuit, speciali Constitutione de nostris relationibus cum Ecclesia Triumphante has venerandas doctrinas complere ac locupletare voluit”, Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 159. Possibly, it featured in previous drafts too (I have not been able to consult these), for the lack of the topic of the saints was both what Molinari initially observed and what Larraona informed Pope John XXIII of.

<sup>737</sup> Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 132.

<sup>738</sup> AS I/4, 209.

<sup>739</sup> AS I/4, 228.

<sup>740</sup> AS I/4, 376-377.

<sup>741</sup> See Molinari’s short historical overview of the development of the text until January 1964, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1497, 1, “Novembre-Dicembre 1962: il Card. Larraona trattò della questione con rappresentanti di Episcopati di varie nazioni e tendenze”, cf. “La storia del capitolo VII”, 129-130. See also Tromp’s summary of the redaction history until February

In his preliminary written reaction to Schema 2, Archbishop Kozłowiecki brought up the topic again, in the name of a few others: “I wish an exposition of the «*Ecclesia consummata*», which may well be inserted at the end of the whole Schema, after the parts dealing with the pilgrim Church have been concluded, so that this last part deals with the Holy Virgin Mary and with the saints”.<sup>742</sup> Similarly, on September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1963, in the very first spoken reaction to Schema 2, Cardinal Frings said in the name of sixty-six other German and Scandinavian speaking Council fathers that some of the bishops for whom he was speaking “desire a new final chapter on the Church that has reached her perfection in the saints (*Ecclesia in sanctis perfecta*)”. This chapter would not only develop the idea of the Church’s pilgrimage, the mystery of the Church and her communion, but also prepare naturally for a chapter on Mary.<sup>743</sup> The next day, Cardinal Silva Henríquez, speaking in the name of forty-four Latin-American Council fathers, expressed his agreement with Frings’ proposal.<sup>744</sup> Around the same time, various observers expressed similar points of view. For example, on October 1<sup>st</sup>, Cullmann commented in response to Schema 2 that salvation history should hold a more prominent place in the reflection, both from the past, viz. the Old Testament, and towards the end, viz. eschatology.<sup>745</sup>

## The Second Phase

The second phase started on October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1963. On that day, aware of the wishes voiced in the Council hall and encouraged by the possibility that a chapter on Mary would be included,<sup>746</sup> Larraona, Molinari and their team decided to reconceive their project. It was not any more to be a separate text, but rather

---

1964, “Ope Patris Grillmeier etiam Emi Bea, Döpfner, Frings audiverunt de novo Schemate praeparando et insisterent ut in Schemate de Ecclesia fusius ageretur de Ecclesia coelesti”, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 411.

<sup>742</sup> AS II/1, 677. Molinari has listed the relevant interventions during the First and Second Period and the Intersession, see Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 122-129 and 134-141.

<sup>743</sup> AS II/1, 344, cf. full text, “Demum adhuc ab aliquibus desideratur novum ultimum caput de Ecclesia in sanctis perfecta, sicut in primo capite exordia Ecclesiae in Vetere Testamento incipiens a iusto Abel, haec exordia Ecclesiae adumbrata sunt. Communicantes cum Sanctis et imprimis cum Beatissima Virgine Maria, missarum sollemnia celebramus. Sancti perfecti, qui iam sunt in caelo, ergo essentialiter pertinent ad mysterium Ecclesiae, quae non tantum hic in terris peregrinatur, sed in sanctis iam fruitur gaudio Christi. Sic etiam praeparatur transitus naturalis et optimus ad declarandam doctrinam de Beata Maria Virgine et eius relatione ad Ecclesiam quam omnes nos desideramus”. The impact of the address is clear from the references to it by other Council fathers, e.g. by Cardinal Urbani during the discussion of the *Textus emendatus* (AS III/1, 379-380), and by Molinari in introductions to various subsequent drafts.

<sup>744</sup> AS II/1, 366-367. For more details, see the text and footnotes in Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 136-141.

<sup>745</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips no. 1050, 1; see also the contributions by Schmemmann and Nissiotis at 1 and 2, cf. no. 1051-1053.

<sup>746</sup> See Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 142. The question whether or not Mary was to be part of *De Ecclesia* was debated in the Council hall by Cardinals Santos and König on October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, after which a small majority voted in favor of including Mary.

a chapter of the Schema on the Church.<sup>747</sup> A new draft was prepared, dated November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1963, and revised by Larraona, Molinari and their team in late November. After further minor revisions, it was printed in January 1964.<sup>748</sup>

A comparison between the texts from the first phase, dated September-October 1963 (draft V), and this late January 1964 draft (draft VIII) reveals substantial continuity. Both drafts highlight the same topics: the relationship between the Church on earth and in heaven, the saints as examples and benefactors, the importance of veneration of the saints as well as moderation in that respect, the magisterial teaching on the matter, and improvements in the procedures for canonization. In addition, both drafts gave theological, pastoral, liturgical and ecumenical arguments for a conciliar text on this topic. Furthermore, both drafts used the mystical body ecclesiology as the dominant framework, in the context of which they developed the relationship between saints and faithful on earth and, at a more abstract level, the relationship between the pilgrim Church and the heavenly Church.

Yet because the new draft needed to be attached to *De Ecclesia*, it featured two other introductory articles. Draft VIII (and in fact already the November one) opened with two other article that replaced draft V's introductory articles on "general dogmatic principles", "the canonized saints" and the saints as examples for the faithful.<sup>749</sup> Under the heading "the eschatological characteristic of our vocation to holiness", it recalled the faithful's eschatological calling to holiness, after which the next article discussed "our connections with the heavenly Church".<sup>750</sup> Molinari explained that the new opening articles allowed for a logical transition from the other chapters to the Church in her final reality and the saints.<sup>751</sup> In addition, the new draft dropped the somewhat juridical second article on

---

<sup>747</sup> See Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 134-135. According to Molinari, the comments during the opening days of the Second Period made Larraona's small commission aware that there was a "new situation"; he noted a "change of direction", 134.

<sup>748</sup> The January 1964 draft is included in the Appendix to Molinari's 1988 overview article, see Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 167-176. The Philips archive contains a copy of the printed version, dated 4-2-1964, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1498.

<sup>749</sup> For these titles, see the full text of Draft V, Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 161-162. After recalling the ecclesiological metaphor of the mystical body, the first claimed that it included the earthly as well as heavenly church, after which article two immediately focused on officially canonized saints.

<sup>750</sup> For these titles, see the full text of Draft VII (January 1964), Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 169-170. The article on the saints as examples was retained, but not so the first two. The opening article of Draft VI (November 1964) already bore the title "the eschatological characteristic of our calling to holiness", Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 143-144.

<sup>751</sup> Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 143-144; cf. CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1497, 2. Indeed, the topics of the pilgrim Church, eschatology, and holiness had been discussed during the First and Second Period and incorporated into Schema 2 and Schema 3. For example, Schema 2 had placed the topic of religious life that already featured in Schema 1, chapter V, in the larger context of a shared calling to holiness (DE 28-36). Schema 2 contained some eschatology-related references as well, cf. e.g. DE 4, "ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem perducit" or the working title of DE 7, "De Ecclesia in terris peregrinante (although in this case title and content did not correspond). In addition, Schema 3's first chapter, on the mystery of the Church, was enriched with various short references that evoked an eschatological perspective. For example, the sentence on the Church's prefiguration, preparation and manifestation was now extended with a sentence on her



canonized saints,<sup>752</sup> and added instead an article on the relationship with the heavenly Church. Although the opening articles would undergo many changes, these two articles are the basis of most of the material in the seventh chapter of *Lumen gentium*, and for LG 48-D in particular.

However, the effort to integrate the document into *De Ecclesia* came with a price; consistency at a higher level led to inconsistency at the level of the chapter, which lost its focus. Did it concentrate on the holiness of the faithful, conceived in an eschatological context, as Draft VIII's opening line suggested, or rather on the pilgrim Church's eschatological destiny, as the whole of Draft VIII's opening article suggested? Article two on "Our connection (*nexus*) with the heavenly Church" suggested a focus on the unity between the heavenly and the earthly Church, while articles three and following centered around the veneration of the saints, including the issue of canonization. Moreover, while the renewed opening article was much more scriptural,<sup>753</sup> the other articles were not.

### The Third Phase

The third redaction-historical phase started in early February 1964, when the Doctrinal Commission received draft VIII.<sup>754</sup> In spite of Bishop Charue, who objected that unless it was imposed by the Pope, the procedures did not allow for considering new texts, the Commission decided on March 2<sup>nd</sup> to integrate the draft into *De Ecclesia*.<sup>755</sup> This was an important moment, because what so far had been happening outside the Council hall and with no connection to the conciliar *Schemata* was now on its way to become a part of the official conciliar event.

The Doctrinal Commission set up a subcommission with Cardinal König, Cardinal Rufino Santos, and Archbishop Garrone to work on the chapter's integration; Garrone was to lead the Subcommission. Their main periti were Molinari, Marie-Michel Labourdette, and Gaetano Stano, who

---

consummation at the end of times (*in fine saeculorum gloriose consummabitur*, DE 2), and the Church was said to grow (DE 3, DE 5) and to be a pilgrim on earth (DE 6, DE 7).

<sup>752</sup> In Molinari's 1961 essay, this topic of the canonized saints held an important place too, see Molinari, "Die Bedeutung der Heiligen in der Kirche", especially 39-52.

<sup>753</sup> The new article contains thirteen Scripture references, most of which are quotations, over against two references in the opening article on "dogmatical principles" in Draft V.

<sup>754</sup> According to Tromp, the Doctrinal Commission had received the document on February 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964, probably from Larraona, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp* vol. 3, 409. Around the same time, Larraona had sent the text to Paul VI, cf. the letter in *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1007-1009. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of February, during an audience with the Paul VI, the president of the Doctrinal Commission, Cardinal Ottaviani, received the documents for the second time, now from Paul VI, see *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 417-419. On February 6<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> and on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, Molinari visited Tromp, possibly to lobby for his cause, 409-411, 415, 429. Larraona's letter to Ottaviani from February 29<sup>th</sup> also suggests lobbying, see *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1004-1007, cf. Ottaviani's response in which he mentioned the audience with Paul VI, 1014-1015.

<sup>755</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 423-425. Understandably, when offered to be chair of the subcommission, Charue did not accept.

had been involved in the project from its earliest days.<sup>756</sup> Others were involved too, amongst whom Congar, Grillmeier, Rahner, and of course Philips. The efforts of the Subcommittee, and the discussion of the Doctrinal Commission itself resulted in the so-called *textus prior*, approved on March 14<sup>th</sup>. On June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1964, a delegation of the Doctrinal Commission revised and approved an improved *textus emendatus*, after which both text versions were sent to the Council fathers on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1964.<sup>757</sup> Congar's request that in relation to DE 49 "the Holy Spirit should be given his due" went unheeded in the *textus emendatus*.<sup>758</sup>

Both texts opened with the topic of holiness, as draft VIII had done, probably because there was a possibility that the chapter would be placed after the chapter on holiness. Yet while the *textus prior* hinted at eschatology, by calling the chapter "The fulfilling (*consummatio*) of holiness in the glory of the saints",<sup>759</sup> the *textus emendatus* spoke explicitly of eschatology and reintroduced in the title the word "Church", that the *textus prior* had dropped. Now the chapter was entitled "On the eschatological characteristic of our calling, and our unity with the heavenly Church".<sup>760</sup>

In this phase, the structure of the current chapter took shape, for the *textus prior* restructured under three headings the material which draft VIII had divided over eleven articles, dropping in the process the topic of canonization.<sup>761</sup> The first article introduced the theme of eschatology, after which

---

<sup>756</sup> See footnote 732.

<sup>757</sup> For the texts and its *relationes*, see AS III/1, 336-352. For the exact dates and these and other names, see especially Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 147-150; cf. Tromp's list of dates in von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 573-574. The decision on delegating was taken on June 6<sup>th</sup>, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 69; cf. Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 204-205. The deliberations were on June 8<sup>th</sup>, cf. the account of these in *Konzilstagebuch*, vol. 3, 697-701 and 798-799. Cf. also Philips, "Le lundi 8 juin, réunion de le Cardinal Browne au sujet des Saints du ciel. Le rapporteur, le P. Molinari, se montre très accommodants (sic, JM) et on arrive à un accord", Schelkens (ed.), *Carnets conciliaires Philips*, 120.

<sup>758</sup> von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 699, "Ad n. 55 (= DE 49). (...) Prof. Moeller rogat ut latius citetur liturgia. Congar (asks, proposes, JM) ut sua pars tribuatur Sp. Sto". The *Textus emendatus* of DE 49 refers neither to liturgy, as Moeller had asked, nor to the Holy Spirit, as Congar had wished. Yet a reference to liturgy was added in another section, see DE 50, AS III/1, 337-338, 340. In the October 1964 draft, the reference to the liturgy was enriched with a reference to the Spirit, AS III/5, 54.

<sup>759</sup> See CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1193, 1.

<sup>760</sup> AS III/1, 336. In an earlier version, the word "eschatology" had deliberately been avoided, as "it is less understandable for our contemporaries", thus the concept-*Relatio*, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1972, 2. It referred to Bishop Lucey (E/2635) and Archbishop Spellman (E/2689), the latter of whom had indeed spoken about contemporaries. Lucey proposed "De communione omnium qui Christi sunt" (AS III/1, 720); Spellman suggested "De consummatione sanctitatis in gloria Sanctorum" or "De nostra unione cum Ecclesia caelesti" (AS III/1, 483). The focus on personal calling (rather than community) could have been inspired by Molinari, see his "Die Bedeutung der Heiligen in der Kirche", esp. 27-30. Molinari evaluated the individual-focused approach of modern times as a chance for promoting the theology and spirituality of the saints.

<sup>761</sup> An important document in between draft VIII and the *Textus prior* is CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1499. For example, article 2 in that document largely overlaps with DE 55 in the *Textus prior*.

two articles discussed the relationship between the earthly and heavenly Church, with an epilogue concluding the text.<sup>762</sup> The *textus emendatus* from June 1964 largely featured the same structure and content, with minor changes.<sup>763</sup>

The *textus prior* also restructured and renewed some Scripture texts, introducing e.g. the reference to 1John 3:1, *Christo in Ecclesia coniungimur*, that is part of LG 48-D. The *textus emendatus* continued to restructure and renew Scripture references, amongst others by moving the quotes from Titus 2 and 2 Thessalonians from the opening line to the concluding line, which is where they are now (see LG 48-D). Similarly, this draft dropped the somewhat triumphalistic Scripture references on sharing Christ's glory (Rom 8:17) and the "incorruptable crown" (1Cor 9:25) and replaced these with more Christological and modestly-eschatological texts, such as Phil 3:20-21, *qui reformabit corpus humilitatis ....*<sup>764</sup> For the same reason, the working titles of DE 49 and DE 50 called the Church "heavenly" instead of "triumphant".<sup>765</sup>

The content was enriched as well. The *Textus prior* introduced a brief reference to the final judgement,<sup>766</sup> a topic that would be elaborated further during the Third Period. Minor changes included the indentation that set the opening line apart. Introduced in the *Textus prior*, it would disappear in the *Textus emendatus*, but return in the final text.<sup>767</sup>

## The Fourth Phase

When the Council resumed in September 1964, the chapter on eschatology and the saints was on top of the conciliar agenda. Whereas the other chapters had been discussed during the First and Second Period, for this chapter and this topic, it was the first time.<sup>768</sup> Yet that meant that an important decision

<sup>762</sup> Cf. the summary by Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 147, "I. *De consummatione sanctitatis* (ex n.1 Schematis Card. Larraona (Draft VIII)); II. *De Sanctis relate ad Eccl. peregr.* (ex nn. 3, 4, 5 ...); III. *De Eccl. Peregr. relate ad Sanctos* (ex nn. 6, 7, 8, 9)".

<sup>763</sup> For a more extensive discussion, see Müller, *Die Eschatologie des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, 135-138. Cf. also Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 150-152.

<sup>764</sup> Changed on June 8<sup>th</sup>, see the *Relatio secretarii*, von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 798, "Tollitur phrasis ... in fine sententia compatiendi et conglorifandi cum Christo. Placet e contra referentiam facere ad 2 Tim. 2,11-12 (in fact, this reference is added to Rom 8:18, JM) et in fine latius citare verba Philipp. 3,20-21 et 2 Thess. 1,10"; the first two texts were new, the latter was moved. Signaled also by Müller, 135-136.

<sup>765</sup> AS III/1, 337 and 338.

<sup>766</sup> AS III/1, 336-337, "omnes nos manifestabimur ante tribunal Domini ut referat unusquisque proprium corporis, prout gessit, sive bonum sive malum"; this is DE 54 in the *textus prior*, cf. DE 48 in the *textus emendatus*, AS III/1, 336.

<sup>767</sup> See AS III/1, 336, where the *textus prior* has an indentation, and the *textus emendatus* has not; AS III/5, 49, where it returns. The final text features not only indentations for the first paragraph but for all four paragraphs, see AS III/8, 825-826, cf. figure twenty-six.

<sup>768</sup> That is also more or less true for the chapter on Mary. Although there had not yet been a discussion of a text, there had been a Schema, which had been sent to the Council fathers during the First Period. Moreover, during the Second Period, on

had already been taken by the Doctrinal Commission; the Council fathers were invited to share their views on the text but they could not discuss the more elementary question if this chapter should be added at all. On September 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>, 1964, seventeen Council fathers addressed the Council, sometimes in the name of a substantial number of other bishops.<sup>769</sup> In addition, there were eighteen written interventions, some very short, as well as some preliminary *animadversiones scriptae*, sent in before the opening of Third Period. At the time, Charue found the discussion disappointing: “L’examen du chap.VII, *de Indole eschatologica*, est assez terne: il suscite assez peu d’intérêt”.<sup>770</sup> He was not the only one, as Laurentin too noted that “le débat fut en partie décevant, il faut le reconnaître”.<sup>771</sup> Especially for the development of LG 48 their interventions were significant, as half of the final texts’s material was added in response to these interventions.

Generally, the new schema met with praise, amongst others for fittingly complementing the whole of *De Ecclesia*. Cardinal Giovanni Urbani, patriarch of Venice and member of the Coordinating Commission, commented that “it seems that nothing in this chapter needs to be changed, added or removed”.<sup>772</sup> He was especially pleased that “the whole chapter is eminently Christological and ecclesiological”.<sup>773</sup> Yet when the Council fathers specified what exactly they appreciated, their comments betray very diverse theological and ecclesiological positions and frameworks. Some appreciated the teaching on the unity of the mystical body in heaven and on earth, while others highlighted the complementarity of the pilgrim Church and the triumphant Church, and still others spoke in more theological terms of a Christological fulfillment of the Church. Some referred to the importance of the saints as pre-eminent members of the Church, with others considering the saints to be stimulating examples for the pilgrim Church.

---

October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1963, there had been a discussion on the question if Mary was to be discussed in a separate text or within the Constitution on the Church.

<sup>769</sup> For example, Cardinal Wyszyński spoke in the name of all seventy Polish bishops, *AS* III/1, 441; Cardinal Döpfner did so in the name of ninety German-speaking and Scandinavian bishops, *AS* III/1, 449; and Cardinal Silva Henriquez spoke in the name of eighty-four other Council fathers.

<sup>770</sup> Declerck, Soetens (eds.), *Carnets conciliaires Charue*, 215.

<sup>771</sup> He explained: “le texte était parvenu aux évêques en cours d’été, ils n’avaient guère eu le temps de l’examiner. La règle nouvelle qui obligeait à déposer les schémas d’interventions à l’avance, donc par correspondance, avait découragé les inscriptions. 17 orateurs seulement parlèrent au cours du débat qui n’occupa pas même deux séances”, R. Laurentin, *L’enjeu du Concile. Bilan de la 3e session* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965), 32, cf. 33.

<sup>772</sup> *AS* III/1, 380-381, written text. In the spoken intervention, he replaced the last two phrases with “except perhaps some considerations as we have heard from Cardinal Ruffini”. That was a reference to his comments on the topics of judgement, purgatory, hell, see *AS* III/1, 378-379. For Urbani (1900-1969), see P. Walter, “Urbani, Giovanni”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 276.

<sup>773</sup> *AS* III/1, 380-381, cf. Cardinal Rugambwa, “chapter VII is pleasing (*placet*) ... as everything (*omnia*) is explained from Christological and ecclesiological principles”, *AS* III/1, 383. The *Relatio* to the new draft featured a list with the (many) favorable comments, *AS* III/5, 57.

The diversity of eschatological viewpoints was very apparent in the criticism the chapter received.<sup>774</sup> On the one hand, some Council fathers noted the near-absence of topics such as the final judgement, purgatory and hell, thereby recalling the old, preconciliar understanding of eschatology as concerning “the last realities”. After criticizing the chapter for its (mis)use of Scripture, its repetitions and its view of the beatific vision, Cardinal Ruffini’s fourth point was that the divine judgement was treated too lightly and that the topics of mortal sin and purgatory were absent.<sup>775</sup> On the other hand, inspired amongst others by theologians such as Congar and Rahner, other Council fathers understood eschatology in relation to the Church’s or even humanity’s pilgrimage towards fulfillment, and therefore as a historical, ecclesial-communal and cosmic reality.<sup>776</sup> Logically, those of the latter tendency wanted the focus to be on the Church or even humanity rather than the individual.<sup>777</sup> In addition, two Council fathers pleaded to include the Spirit as well,<sup>778</sup> and some others wished eschatology to be not only something of the future, but also a lifestyle in the present time.<sup>779</sup>

---

<sup>774</sup> For what follows, see the summary in *AS III/5*, 58, cf. the *Relatio super emendationes* by Cardinal Santos, the president of the subcommission for this chapter, *AS III/5*, 62-64. Interestingly, various similar points of criticism had already been noted by Larraona in a letter to Pope Paul VI dated February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1964, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 3, 1010-1012, esp. 1011. These wishes had not been followed in the *textus prior* nor the *textus emendatus*, probably for the simple reason that neither Larraona nor Paul VI were involved any more in the editorial process.

<sup>775</sup> *AS III/1*, 378-379. He concluded that the chapter should be removed; the *Relatio* referred to him as the father who “extra chorum cantat”, *AS III/5*, 57. For other Council fathers who spoke on the topics of judgement, purgatory, hell, see amongst others the contributions of Alberto Gori, patriarch of Jerusalem, *AS III/1*, 383-385; Segundo Garcia de Sierra y Méndez, archbishop of Burgos (Spain), *AS III/1*, 422-424.

<sup>776</sup> See e.g. Y. Congar, *Le Concile au jour le jour. Troisième Session* (Paris: Cerf, 1965), 30-31, «Eschatologie» ... signifie: ce qui concerne les réalités dernières. Cependant, il ne s’agissait pas de traiter ici de la nature des «choses» qu’on trouve à la fin: Jugement, Ciel, Enfer, Purgatoire. ... Ce n’est pas de cela qu’il était question, mais bien de la dimension et du caractère que prend l’Église, en son état d’itinérance .... Cf. Laurentin, *Bilan de la 3e session*, 29-34 and Rahner, “Eschatologie”, 1095.

<sup>777</sup> See especially the intervention by Auxiliary Bishop Elchinger, *AS III/1*, 419-420. Elchinger’s address had been prepared by Congar, see Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 121: “13.8.1964 – J’écris à Mgr Ancel pour lui suggérer une intervention (...) sur le chapitre Du caractère eschatologique de notre vocation.... Le texte est trop purement personnel-spirituel, il manque de dimension cosmique et historique”. As Ancel did not answer, he tried Elchinger, who accepted: “1<sup>er</sup> septembre. – N’ayant aucune réponse de Mgr Ancel pour son inscription à parler sur l’eschatologie, je m’inquiète et vais voir Mgr Elchinger pour lui demander de s’inscrire”, *Mon journal du concile*, 123. Cf. Justin Darmajuwana, archbishop of Semarang (Indonesia), who stated in the name of twenty-three Indonesian bishops that the chapters should be added to chapter five, on holiness, *AS III/1*, 387.

<sup>778</sup> Maronite Archbishop Ziadé, *AS III/1*, 389-391 and Abbot Butler, *AS III/1*, 420-421.

<sup>779</sup> Especially Bishop Pont Y Gol targeted the one-sidedly transcendent orientation of the chapter, *AS III/1*, 417-418, cf. also Auxiliary Bishop Ancel, *AS III/1*, 432-434. By contrast, Archbishop De Sierra y Méndez welcomed the chapter for recalling that the human perspective transcends the material world, *AS III/1*, 422-424.

Molinari and the Subcommission took to work and produced a new draft,<sup>780</sup> which was distributed amongst the Council fathers a month later, on October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1964.<sup>781</sup> The structure of the text, with its four articles, was maintained, and much of the material as well. Yet it contained important changes, for example in the title. By speaking of “the eschatological characteristic of the pilgrim Church and her unity with the heavenly Church”, the chapter now understood eschatology as a characteristic of the Church rather than a purely personal calling.<sup>782</sup> In addition, in various places in the text, the collective, ecclesial, cosmic and pneumatological aspects were elaborated, as well as the consequences for an eschatological lifestyle. Finally, some references to purgatory and hell were added as well.

The most substantial change at this stage was that LG 48 developed to twice its original size. In his *Relatio super emendationes*, Cardinal Santos acknowledged that this development owed to “a text that has been prepared to this end by some fathers”, on the basis of which the Doctrinal Commission improved LG 48.<sup>783</sup> This is a reference to a text drafted by Congar, written on request, and consisting of two pages written text and a final page with footnotes and a *brevis relatio* on the text.<sup>784</sup> It was meant to satisfy the Council fathers who on September 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> had asked that the individual focus of the *Textus emendatus* be complemented with a more cosmic, pneumatological and ecclesiological one.<sup>785</sup> The text was to be inserted at the end of article 48,<sup>786</sup> and was characterised by

---

<sup>780</sup> Molinari’s lead is implied in the note in Congar’s diary on October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964, quoted in the main text below, on page 227-228. The fourth volume of Tromp’s *Konzilstagebuch* will no doubt provide further details; currently it is only available in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

<sup>781</sup> For the date, see Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 206.

<sup>782</sup> *AS* III/5, 49. The response to the *modi* – in which the title was questioned again – stated that this title is the outcome of “long discussions” in the Doctrinal Commission, *AS* III/8, 139.

<sup>783</sup> *AS* III/5, 63, “Petitum est ut in n. 48 fusius ageretur de indole eschatologica ipsius Ecclesiae et de aspectu colectivo, ecclesiali et cosmico exsistentiae nostrae. Ut his desideriis satisfaceret, Commissio Theologica curavit ut paragraphus notabiliter ampliaretur et quidem ita ut ratio haberetur alicuius textus qui ad hunc finem a quibusdam Patribus iam confectus fuerat”.

<sup>784</sup> The draft is recorded in the CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968. It was composed between September 25<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>. Congar testifies in his Council diary: “Après-midi, travail à rédiger un § sur l’eschatologie cosmique et historique, pour le chapitre *De indole eschatologica*. On me l’a demandé” (September 25<sup>th</sup>), and “j’achève et porte au Collège belge pour Mgr Philips mon texte sur l’eschatologie cosmique” (September 27<sup>th</sup>), see Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 164, 165. The letter that accompanied the draft is dated on the 27<sup>th</sup>, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1967.

<sup>785</sup> Cf. the concluding line of the Congar draft: “Tali modo speramus postulatis ab Exc. Elchinger, Ziadé, Ancel, et nonnullis aliis, satisfacere”, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968, 3.

<sup>786</sup> Congar’s title and opening words show that his text was meant as a complement to the draft recorded as CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1970; this was an improved version of the *Textus emendatus*, in which e.g. various Spirit-references had already been added. That Congar’s draft is related to no. 1970 is clear from the fact that the text opens with “Hanc autem revelationem filiorum Dei omnis expectat creatura”. The words “hanc autem” make only sense if linked to a sentence on the same topic, and indeed draft no. 1970’s opening article ended with the words “expectant revelationem filiorum Dei”. That

Congar as “cosmic, historical and collective”; he also explained explicitly that he wished to include “anthropology, Christology, pneumatology and ecclesiology”.<sup>787</sup> Congar’s lengthy text served as a mine that others, such as Bishop Heuschen and the *periti* Philips and Moeller, delved from.<sup>788</sup> Their drafts were the basis for the improved text, that was discussed in the Doctrinal Commission on October 5<sup>th</sup>, and which was identical – as far as the first half of the sentence is concerned – with the final published text.<sup>789</sup>

As was already said, the final text was distributed on October 16<sup>th</sup>, and three days later the Council fathers voted overwhelmingly in favour of the text.<sup>790</sup> At this stage, the Council fathers had the opportunity to request minor changes, the so-called *Modi*, that the so-called Technical Subcommission would weigh and propose to the Doctrinal Commission. Especially Charue, Molinari, Tromp and Philips were involved.<sup>791</sup> On November 14<sup>th</sup>, the outcome was sent to the Council fathers, more than 98 per cent of whom voted in favor.<sup>792</sup> Various details were changed,<sup>793</sup> that we will look into in so far as relevant in the next section.

---

also means that the “bis” in the title of Congar’s draft makes sense: “Tentamen redactionis numeri 48 bis: De Ecclesia, caput VI -vel VII-”. This was meant to follow the opening article of no. 1970.

<sup>787</sup> In the *brevis relatio* at the end, Congar explains that there are two sections, the first of which “afferuntur rationes praecipue de momento cosmico, historico et colectivo eschatologiae christianae”, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968, 3. In the text itself, at the end of the first part, he wrote, “Quo pacto apparet conditionem eschatologicam mundi esse insimul anthropologicam, Christologicam, pneumatologicam et ecclesiologicam”, no. 1968, 2.

<sup>788</sup> CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1965 (Philips), no. 1966 (*recto*, Heuschen; *verso*, Moeller), no. 1969 (Heuschen). Although all without date, various textual details prove their dependency on Congar. Cf. also Congar’s note in his diary, “travail avec Mgr Heuschen et le P. Rigaux pour raccourcir mon texte sur l’eschatologie collective”, Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 175 (October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1964).

<sup>789</sup> For this date, see Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 180-181, “À 16.30, Commission théologique. (...) Discussion sur le TITRE du chap. VII”. Probably, the text the Doctrinal Commission discussed was draft CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1971, which situates itself between the *textus emendatus* and the official draft in AS III/5.

<sup>790</sup> For LG 48 2,099 out of 2,135 voters voted *placet*, with 20 *non placet* and 16 *placet iuxta modum*, AS III/5, 75; that means that 98% voted in favour, and 99% if one includes the *iuxta modum* votes. Cf. the votes for LG 49, LG 50 and LG 51, AS III/5, 96, and the vote for the chapter as a whole, AS III/5, 115.

<sup>791</sup> The *Acta* mention the president of the Technical Subcommission, Charue, as well as “the secretary of the Doctrinal Commission”, i.e. Tromp, and Molinari, the “*relator* for this chapter”, AS III/8, 139. Philips’ presence and role are attested in e.g. Congar’s diary. For example, on October 28<sup>th</sup>, Congar complained that the way “the little group Philips-Tromp-Charue” treated the *Modi* discouraged him, see Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 230-231, cf. similarly in relation to *Dei verbum*, 251. According to Tromp, the Subcommission discussed the *modi* for this chapter on October 29<sup>th</sup>, after which the Doctrinal Commission discussed the outcome on November 6<sup>th</sup>, see von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 548 and 575.

<sup>792</sup> The actual votes were on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October, see AS III/8, 138. For LG 48, 2099 out of 2135 *placet*; for LG 49, 2121 out of 2132; for LG 50, 2104 out of 2121; for LG 51, 2067 out of 2077.

<sup>793</sup> AS III/8, 139-150.

## Intermediary Conclusion

In conclusion, the redaction history of the seventh chapter of *Lumen gentium* is quite unique. The chapter started from an article by Molinari and the subsequent initiative of Pope John XXIII and Cardinal Larraona, and became only during the Second Intersession and the Third Period part of the Constitution on the Church. The development of the titles sums up the evolution of the chapter. Originally entitled “Proposal for a Conciliar Text on the Veneration of the Saints” (July 1962),<sup>794</sup> the project was reconceived ecclesialogically: “The Relationship between the Pilgrim Church and the Triumphant Church, Especially the Saints” (October 1963).<sup>795</sup> The *Textus emendatus* (July 1964) added the topic of vocation and returned to the person-focused approach which had characterised the first text proposal: “The Eschatological Characteristic of Our Vocation, and Our Unity with the Heavenly Church”.<sup>796</sup> The final title reconceived these two topics of vocation and unity with the heavenly Church ecclesialogically: “De indole eschatologica Ecclesiae peregrinantis eiusque unione cum Ecclesia caelesti”.<sup>797</sup> In the light of the development from a Constitution on the saints to a chapter on the eschatology of the Church and the saints, it is no surprise that the chapter contains various tensions, as we have seen in chapter 6.1.

## 6.3 The Pneumatological Development of *Lumen Gentium* 48

The overview of the redaction history reveals that LG 48 was introduced in the later stages of *Lumen gentium*’s redaction history. Subsection LG 48-D was added towards the end of the Second Period, in November 1963, to establish a link between *De Ecclesia* and the draft on the saints. The other subsections LG 48-A, LG 48-B and LG 48-C were introduced during the Third Period, in late September and early October 1964, to reframe with broader ecclesiological and cosmological considerations the person-focused, spiritual subsection LG 48-D.

The editorial work substantially affected the document’s pneumatology. The first official draft referred to the Holy Spirit once, in the doxological, somewhat technical phrase on the “latreutic

---

<sup>794</sup> Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 120-121.

<sup>795</sup> Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 159; this is Draft V. The January 1964 draft VIII was entitled simply “The Relationship of the Pilgrim Church with the Triumphant Church”, although the saints were still the most important topic of the text, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 167.

<sup>796</sup> *AS* III/1, 336. The *textus prior* (March 1964) read simply “De nostra unione cum Ecclesia coelesti”, see CSVII 1505, probably after Draft VIII (January 1964).

<sup>797</sup> Note the subtle shift from “ac de unione” (in *AS* III/1) to “eiusque unione” (in *AS* III/5). While “ac” suggests the chapter consisted of two parts, “-que” suggests a closer connection, and therefore one part with two distinguished aspects.



worship given to the Father through the Son in the Spirit” (LG 51).<sup>798</sup> That small number of one single reference to the Holy Spirit grew to seventeen Spirit-propositions (or eight references) in the final text. Especially LG 48 displayed a stunning growth, from zero to twelve Spirit-propositions.

In this section, I will explore the introduction of these propositions. As LG 48 consists of four rather different subsections (see figure twenty-six), I will explore these separately. Although LG 48-A and LG 48-C feature no reference to the Spirit, I will briefly consider the development of these subsections too, as this helps to grasp what was going on with the whole of LG 48. In my exploration, I will consider especially the aspects I studied in the chapter on LG 4, namely the redaction-historical development of the text, the actors who were involved and the motives that were at work.

### ***Lumen Gentium 48-A***

As we have seen in chapter 6.1, LG 48-A is a dense introductory sentence on the Church and eschatology. Figure twenty-eight gives an overview of the sentence’s development.<sup>799</sup> Words that feature in all versions are in bold.

Draft VIII	<i>Prior</i>	<i>Emendatus</i>	Oct 1964 – <i>Lumen gentium</i>
Omnes qui cum Christo consurrexerunt et in Ecclesia <b>ad sanctitatem vocantur</b> quae sursum sunt quaerant oportet, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens; qua sursum sunt sapiant, non quae super terram (cf. Col., 3, 1-2)	<b>Sanctitas</b> ad quam <b>omnes</b> homines in Christo Iesu <b>vocantur</b> , non tamen in terris consummabitur.	Non tamen in terris consummatur <b>sanctitas</b> ad quam in Christo Iesu <b>vocantur omnes</b> .	(1) Ecclesia, ad quam in Christo Iesu <b>vocamur omnes</b> et in qua per gratiam Dei <b>sanctitatem</b> acquirimus, nonnisi in gloria caelesti consummabitur quando adveniet tempus restitutionis omnium (cf. Act 3,21) atque cum genere humano universus quoque mundus, qui intime cum homine coniungitur et per eum ad finem suum accedit, perfecte in Christo instaurabitur (cf. Eph 1,10; Col 1,20; 2Pt 3,10-13).

**Figure 28.** The development of LG 48’s opening sentence; recurring words in bold.

<sup>798</sup> AS III/1, 340. The content of the phrase subtly changed. Although the *Relatio* does not comment on these changes, they are interesting. While the *Textus prior* spoke of worship *Iesu Christo et per Ipsum aeterno Patri in Spiritu*, the *Textus emendatus* wrote *Iesu Christo et Deo in Spiritu*, probably because *per Ipsum* was not satisfying from a trinitarian point of view. Abbot Butler still considered the text unfortunate (*calamitosa*) for suggesting that the Holy Spirit was not himself worshipped, and proposed *Deo Patri cum Filio eius et Spiritu Sancto*, AS III/1, 420. This went unheeded.

<sup>799</sup> For Draft VIII (January 1964), see Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 167-176, cf. CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1498. For the *textus prior* and *emendatus*, see AS III/1, 336. For the October 1964 *textus emendatus*, see AS III/5, 49, which is identical to the final version except for the added Scripture reference 2 Peter 3, cf. AS III/7, 140.

Figure twenty-eight shows that the words *omnes*, *sanctitas* and *vocari* were preserved throughout all versions. They originate from the January 1964 Draft VIII and probably date back to an earlier draft, Draft VI. In these drafts, the somewhat apologetical, saints-centered opening articles of Draft V were replaced with two other articles, the first of which was on the eschatological calling to holiness. By linking the reality of the saints in heaven – the topic of the original draft – with the calling of the faithful on earth in the Church, the sentence attempted to establish a connection between the two separate texts on the saints and on the Church. The word “eschatological” in the title of Draft VIII suggested that more was at stake than a calling to search the things of heaven, and indeed, the sentences that followed developed the notion of a future that is still to come.

However, the exact articulation of the words *omnes*, *sanctitas* and *vocari* and the phrase they are part of changed in a subtle but significant manner. Firstly, the *Textus prior* simplified the text by deleting the phrase on holiness as the search for the things of heaven, which echoed Draft VIII’s focus on the saints. Instead, it specified immediately what draft VIII had stated in later sentences, namely that holiness does not find its fulfillment on earth. As figure twenty-eight shows, the words *sanctitas non consummabitur*, introduced at this stage, would be preserved until the final version.

Secondly, the October 1964 draft changed the word order, according to the *Relatio* “so that the explanation does not start from a negation”, as the *Textus emendatus* had done.<sup>800</sup> It also replaced the negative clause “not on earth” of the *Textus prior* and *emendatus* with the more positive phrase “only in heaven”.

A third change, with a more theological importance, has to do with the re-introduction of the word *Ecclesia*, and the prominence that was given to this word.<sup>801</sup> For instead of mentioning the Church in the context of a reflection on the personal calling to holiness, as Draft VIII had done, the October 1964 draft did exactly the reverse: it mentioned the calling to holiness in the context of a reflection on the Church and its eschatological reality. The introduction of the word *Ecclesia* and the transfer of holiness to the subclause *in qua ... sanctitatem acquirimus* not only subtly signify that the link with the other chapters in *Lumen gentium* lies not in holiness, but in the Church, but also that eschatology is about a collective, ecclesial fullness rather than individual holiness. Thus it broadened the perspective from the individual person, as in Molinari’s earlier drafts and in his 1961 essay, to the Church.<sup>802</sup>

<sup>800</sup> *AS* III/5, 58, with reference to the comments by Carli (*AS* III/1, 671) and Bea (*AS* III/1, 479), who had both noticed the negative opening words *Non tamen* in the *Textus emendatus*.

<sup>801</sup> Possibly, this went back to a proposal by Jaeger, in the name of one hundred and twenty German bishops. According to him, LG 48’s opening line should read *Ecclesia ipsa iam nunc est indolis eschatologicae*, *AS* III/1, 483-484. For extensive discussion, see the section on LG 48-C below.

<sup>802</sup> The change occurred at a relatively late moment. A proof-text for the October 1964 version featured the word *Ecclesia*, but not as the opening word; it read “*Sanctitas ad quam in Christo Iesu vocamur omnes et quam gratia Dei in Ecclesia acquirimus, nonnisi in gloria coelesti consummabitur, ...*”, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1976, 1 (cf. no. 1977 and 1972). In handwritten corrections, Molinari swapped the words *Ecclesia* and *sanctitas*, see no. 1976, 1. Another comment in the

The editors developed this new perspective further in the phrases on the *tempus restitutionis omnium* which involves “the whole human race and the world”. These phrases were taken from an alternative proposal, based on a text of Congar, in which eschatology was developed in a more Christological, pneumatological, ecclesiological and cosmic manner. As the exact origin of each part requires detailed exploration that does not contribute much to the exploration of LG 48’s pneumatological development, I will not develop this further.<sup>803</sup>

This brief overview of the development of LG 48-A evokes the context in which the pneumatological development in LG 48-B and LG 48-D should be situated. What was at stake was a connection between the draft on the saints and *De Ecclesia*. Moreover, over time the chapter was fundamentally reconceived from a spirituality-centered towards a cosmic, theological, ecclesiological reflection.

### ***Lumen Gentium 48-B***

As we have seen in chapter 6.1, subsection LG 48-B lays the Christological, pneumatological and ecclesiological foundation for the whole chapter. It consists of two sentences, that I have numbered 2 and 3, in both of which the Spirit is mentioned two times. Figure twenty-nine gives an overview of the development of the two Spirit-references in sentence 2.<sup>804</sup>

---

margins – *mutatio acceptatur* – possibly refers to the discussion of the text on October 14<sup>th</sup> in the Doctrinal Commission. In response to the October 1964 draft, several Council fathers wished to restore *Sanctitas*, but the word *Ecclesia* was maintained.

<sup>803</sup> For Congar’s text proposal, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968, 1. In it, Congar speaks of the *tempora restitutionis omnium*, with a reference to Acts 3:20-21 (at the first page, line 23); *instaurare omnia in Christo*, with a reference to Eph 1:10 and later to Col 1:19-20 (at the first page, line 8-9, 12); and (in the explanation) the unity of the human being with the universe and the ultimate goal (*finis*) (at the third page). These elements all found their place in the October 1964 draft, albeit via the detour of more concise drafts by others, who however based their draft on Congar’s text. Cf. the way Heuschen has combined the Scripture references to Ephesians and Colosians, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1969. The three phrases were introduced at the same time, at a relatively late moment. Absent in draft no. 1970, which had already introduced LG 48-C and added the Spirit references in LG 48-D, they can be found in draft no. 1971. The reference to 2 Peter 3 was added at the very last moment, during the *Expensio modorum*, AS III/7, 140.

<sup>804</sup> For Congar, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968, 1; for Philips’ notes, see no. 1965; for Heuschen’s, see no. 1966. I have omitted draft no. 1970 in which the various drafts by *periti* were first processed; this draft has an identical first phrase but has another, more Church-centered final phrase, “ut homines arctius cum Ecclesia, quae est «mundus reconciliatus» (cf. S. Augustinus, Sermo 96,8), coniungat ac proprio Corpore et Sanguine illos nutriendo gloriosae vitae suae faciat esse participes”.

Congar	Philips	Heuschen	LG 48
<p><b>Christus</b> vero,</p> <p><b>resurgens ex mortuis</b> (Rm 6,9),</p> <p><u><b>Spiritum Dominum et vivificantem</b></u>, in discipulos inmisit,</p> <p>sicque novam creationem/creaturam in Seipso, in eis, in universo mundo constituit ac innovavitque.</p> <p>Ipse, imago Dei invisibilis, primogenitus omnis creaturae, primogenitus ex mortuis (Col. 1,15; Apoc. 1,5), primogenitus in multis fratribus (Rm 8,29),</p> <p><u><b>per Spiritum suum</b></u> simul ac per <b>sacramentum universale salutis, Corpus</b> scilicet <b>suum quod est Ecclesia</b>, atque summe per sacramentum Corporis et sanguinis, quo intime vivit (in?, JM) Ecclesia,</p> <p><b>operatur in mundo</b> ut illum regno suo subiciat.</p>	<p><b>Christus</b> vero,</p> <p><b>resurgens ex mortuis</b>,</p> <p><u><b>Spiritum, Dominum et vivificantem</b></u>, in discipulos inmisit</p> <p>(*) <i>Moeller notes in the side that Philips has left out “sicque novam creaturam ... instituit innovavitque”.</i></p> <p>ac <u><b>per Eum</b></u> <b>Corpus suum quod est Ecclesia ut universale sacramentum salutis</b> constituit ac manifestavit.</p> <p>Ecclesia autem usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium (Act. 3,21)</p> <p><b>in mundo operatur</b>, Regnum Christi praedicans (<i>here Moeller continues with the sentence on the body and blood of Christ in terms rather similar to Congar’s.</i>)</p>	<p><b>Christus</b> vero, postquam exaltatus a terra, omnes traxit ad seipsum (Io 12,32);</p> <p><b>surrectus a mortuis</b></p> <p><u><b>Spiritum suum vivificantem</b></u> in discipulos inmisit</p> <p>et ac <u><b>per Eum</b></u> <b>corpus suum quod est Ecclesia ut universale sacramentum salutis</b> constituit ac manifestavit.</p>	<p>(2) <b>Christus</b> quidem exaltatus a terra omnes traxit ad seipsum (cf. Io. 12,32 gr.);</p> <p><b>resurgens ex mortuis</b> (cf. Rom. 6,9)</p> <p><u><b>Spiritum suum vivificantem</b></u> in discipulos inmisit</p> <p>et <u><b>per Eum (Spiritem)</b></u> <b>Corpus suum quod est Ecclesia ut universale salutis sacramentum</b> constituit;</p> <p>sedens ad dexteram Patris continuo</p> <p><b>operatur in mundo</b> ut homines ad Ecclesiam perducatur arctiusque per eam Sibi coniungatur ac proprio Corpore et Sanguine illos nutriendo gloriosae vitae suae faciat esse participes.</p>

**Figure 29.** The development of LG 48-B, sentence 2. Bold added for more or less identical text; Spirit-references underlined.

The overlap between Congar’s text, the drafts by Philips and Heuschen and the final text proves the significance of Congar’s proposal (for background, see chapter 6.2, fourth phase). In all drafts and in the final text, Christ is both the subject of the sentence and the subject of the action, with the Spirit being conceived as the instrument that Christ acts with or through. In addition, all drafts speak of the Church as universal sacrament of salvation, and all except for Heuschen speak about Christ who “works in the world”.

Unsurprisingly in the light of Congar’s agenda, his sentences stand out for their broad, cosmic approach. In his first sentence, Congar moves from Christ and the Spirit to the disciples, and from these towards “the new creation in Him, in them, in the whole world”. Similarly, in his second

sentence, he calls Christ “the first-born of all creation”, and after the Spirit, the Church and the Eucharist have been mentioned, he concludes the sentence with Christ working in the world for his reign.

Philips, Heuschen and later drafts all considerably shortened Congar’s text. Figure twenty-nine shows that what in Congar’s draft had been two sentences became one, considerably shorter sentence, probably because Congar’s text was obviously too long.<sup>805</sup> As a consequence, *per Spiritum suum* could be summarized as *per Eum*. The reference to Church as a “universal sacrament of salvation” that followed immediately underwent subtle yet pneumatologically significant changes. While Congar presented the Spirit and the Church at the same level – *per Spiritum ... per Ecclesiam* – later drafts placed the Church under the Spirit. According to Philips and subsequent drafts, the Spirit makes or “constitutes” the Church into the universal sacrament of salvation.

Another consequence was that the various drafts reduced the material on the broad, cosmic nature of eschatology that were crucial for what Congar had intended with the text. Later drafts preferred the single word *vivificantem* where Congar (and Philips after him) had *Dominum et vivificantem*, probably after the Creed. In addition, Heuschen and later drafts added words on Christ’s exaltation, *exaltatus a terra*, and his continuing grace, *traxit omnes ad seipsum*; these they drew from Congar’s text too.<sup>806</sup> Finally, it is also possible to trace the exact steps of the development of the second half of sentence 2, the phrase on Christ *sedens ad dexteram Patris*, which draft 1971 drew from Congar’s draft too.<sup>807</sup> Yet for our research it is sufficient to note a Christ-centered nature of the text, which limits the scope of the previous, Spirit-centered phrase.

Congar’s diary reveals that the shortening of his text and the reduction of the cosmic perspective did not escape his attention. He described how very unhappy he was that the next official draft focused on the Church, at the expense of the eschatology of all humanity. He wrote:

---

<sup>805</sup> Congar was aware of the length of the text; he opened his explanations with the words “Textus certe longus est”, yet defended the text nonetheless: “pauca verba superflua videntur”, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968, 3; cf. also his involvement in shortening the text, Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 175.

<sup>806</sup> In Congar’s text, the sentence starting with *Christus vero* was preceded by the following sentence: “In medio ergo universorum saeculorum, dum volvitur Orbis, stat crux ex qua Christus in ea elevatus omnia ad se trahit saecula”, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968, 1.

<sup>807</sup> For relevant sources, see Congar’s text (CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968) and drafts based on and related to it: CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1965 (with the Church as subject working in the world!), no. 1966 (where this is corrected, and Christ is the subject once again), no. 1969 (with the designation of the Church as «mundus reconciliatus»), no. 1971 (the draft discussed in the Doctrinal Commission), no. 1975 (a note highlighting the ecumenical weaknesss of the «mundus reconciliatus» quote), no. 1976 (the *AS* III/1 texts with notes in the margins, amongst others McGrath’s comment in no. 1971 is “accepted”). At the very last moment, the words *per eam Sibi coniungat* are introduced; these increase the christocentric nature (and prevent possible Church-centric interpretations), see the *Modi* in CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1977, 2.

On discute le texte, selon moi très insatisfaisant, de Molinari. Il m’a dit, à mon arrivée: j’ai retenu presque tout de votre texte, mais il y a eu un texte des Allemands et j’ai été obligé de tenir compte des deux. – Autant que je puisse voir, les Allemands pensent surtout à l’aspect eschatologique de l’Église, non de notre vocation humaine. Je suis très découragé par cette impossibilité de faire passer quelque chose d’aussi essentiel. (...) On continue «le platonisme pour le peuple»... Pas de pneumatologie, pas d’anthropologie, pas de cosmologie.<sup>808</sup>

Although Molinari’s interest was clearly in the Church,<sup>809</sup> in speaking about an absence of pneumatology, anthropology and cosmology Congar dramatized, for all drafts featured cosmology. Faithful to Congar’s agenda, Philips and Heuschen had first addressed this topic, before talking about Christ and the Spirit. Their drafts, as Congar’s draft, did not start with the sentences rendered in figure twenty-nine, but with more cosmological ones.<sup>810</sup> Similarly, although the editors of subsequent drafts deleted these introductory sentences and immediately started with the sentences on Christ and the Spirit, with no cosmological references, they enlarged their opening sentence – our paragraph LG 48-A – with an extra cosmological phrase (see figure twenty-eight).

One could even argue that thereby the Spirit-references increased in significance. Molinari placed in draft no. 1971 and subsequent drafts the sentence on Christ and the Spirit immediately after the opening sentence, and not at a later moment, as part of a long consideration on anthropological and cosmological eschatology, as in Congar’s text. Thereby, it functioned as the theological foundation for what followed, so that the argumentative significance of pneumatology (and Christology too) increased. Yet as most references to the cosmological context of the Spirit’s work were deleted, the weight of the Spirit’s involvement decreased, too.

A major motive in these developments was pneumatological. As we have seen, Congar’s text was a response to the wish of various Council fathers, amongst others in relation to pneumatology. For our research, especially the criticism of Ziade is noteworthy. On the morning of September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1964, he did not waste his time on friendly opening words in his memorable address:

The scope of my note is simple, how is it possible to discuss the eschatological dimension of our vocation without ever mentioning the mission of the Holy Spirit. This chapter VII is, for us, Easterners, similar to holy liturgy without epiclesis, or the anaphora in which especially

<sup>808</sup> Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 181; this he wrote on the day of the discussion of the improved draft, October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

<sup>809</sup> Cf. Molinari’s postconciliar reflection on this chapter and eschatology. He opened his reflection with the individual or personal aspects of eschatology, which he elaborated in the direction of ecclesiology, and barely dealt with anthropology and cosmology. See P. Molinari, “De eschatologische aard van de pelgrimerende kerk en haar betrekkingen tot de hemelse kerk”, G. Baraúna (ed.), *De Kerk van Vaticanum II. Commentaren op de concilieconstitutie over de Kerk*, 2 vols. (Bilthoven: Nelissen, 1966), vol. 2, 449-471.

<sup>810</sup> See CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1965 and no. 1966 (*recto*).

the Son is mentioned, the Father a little bit, and the action of the Holy Spirit not at all (*nullo modo*). Our Eastern tradition cannot recognise itself in this type of profession of the faith, which is so deficient. Our hope therefore is either a clearer text on the eschatological role (*munus*) of the Holy Spirit in our (eschatological, JM) vocation, or a more pneumatological general inspiration of the whole chapter.<sup>811</sup>

Yet Ziadé was not the only Council father to comment on the text's pneumatology; so did Christopher Butler, abbot of Downside Abbey (England) and abbot-president of the English Benedictines, and a member of the Doctrinal Commission.<sup>812</sup> The very same morning Butler too noted the absence of references to the Holy Spirit. He first expressed his agreement with the text, *placet in genere*, after which he brought forward that he agreed with Ziadé on the text's pneumatological weaknesses, that, so he claimed, were easy to mend.<sup>813</sup> Did this gentle and practical approach reflect Butler's British background? Or did he really not see that the issue was more fundamental, and that therefore adding one pneumatological reference per article, as he proposed, could barely have satisfied Ziadé, with whom he said to agree? And does the fact that Congar mentions at the end of his draft only Ziadé, not Butler, have a significance in this regard?

In any case, the *Relatio* to the official, improved October 1964 draft shows that the editors wished to embrace the agenda underlying Congar's text, including its pneumatology. For commenting on the second half of sentence 1 as well as the new subsections LG 48-B and LG 48-C, the *Relatio* stated that "several Council fathers have expressed the desire that the collective, ecclesial, cosmological aspect of our eschatological life should be dealt with in a more explicit manner (E/2627,

---

<sup>811</sup> AS III/1, 389-390, cf. full text, "Scopus notationis meae simplex est: quomodo possibile est loqui de indole eschatologica vocationis nostrae sine ulla mentione missionis Spiritus Sancti? Hoc cap. VII simile est, pro nobis orientalibus, sacrae Liturgiae sine epiclesi, vel anaphorae ubi sermo fieret praesertim de Filio, paululum de Patre ac nullo modo de actione Spiritus Sancti. Nostra traditio orientalis sese agnoscere nequit in tali professione fidei tam deficiente. Optamus ergo sive textum clariorem de munere eschatologico Spiritus Sancti in vocatione nostra, sive inspirationem generalem totius capitis magis pneumatologicam". Cf. Ziadé's similarly critical reaction to the chapter on the people of God during the Second Period, with the bold claim, "Quidam enim fere abest ab hoc capite, scil. *Spiritus Sanctus*", AS II/3, 211-213, 211.

<sup>812</sup> Butler (1902-1986), who converted from Anglicanism, became a member of the Doctrinal Commission in 1963, see M. Quisinsky, "Butler, Christopher Basil", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 65-66.

<sup>813</sup> The written text states, "Habet autem aliquos defectus quos per emendationes, ceterum non difficiles, sanandos duco. Et primum mentio de Sancto Spiritu auctore omnis humanae sanctitatis prope omnino deficit", AS III/1, 421. In the spoken text, he referred to Ziadé's comment, "Sed hic primum assentio his quae dicta sunt super defectu de Spiritu Sancto" (this must be a reference to Ziadé, as the other contributions until then had not taken up pneumatology), AS III/1, 420. Ziadé himself would probably not have called the Spirit *auctor sanctitatis*, as Butler did, but rather *auctor eschatologiae*, as his contribution was on eschatology, not holiness.

2678, 2680, 2710 and 70 others, E/2743) and also the function of the Holy Spirit in the Church on her pilgrimage to her fatherland (E/2673B, 2681)”.<sup>814</sup>

However, it is improbable to suppose a deep and broadly shared pneumatological concern as only two Council fathers commented on the absence of the Holy Spirit in the *Textus emendatus*. While one could point to the complicated editorial history of the text to excuse the absence of references to the Spirit in the *Versio prior* or even the *Textus emendatus*, one cannot thus explain the fact that the Council fathers did comment on matters such as anthropology, cosmology, ecclesiology, final judgement, but not pneumatology. Moreover, only Ziadé considered the pneumatological poverty of the document a grave matter, as for Abbot Butler, it was “not difficult” to improve the text.

Another reason for not overestimating the pneumatological motive is the difference between the actual text and the authorial intention. The *Relatio* explained that the objective was to “deal in a more explicit manner with the function of the Holy Spirit”. However, not only are the references poor in verbs, so that indicating the function (*functio*) of the Spirit is precisely what the text does not do, the christocentric perspective is undeniable. In this sentence, Christ is described as sending, as constituting the Church, and as continuously working in the Church, with the Spirit as the one sent by Christ and the instrument through whom (*per Eum*) Christ works. The second part of the sentence does not even have a reference to the Holy Spirit.

The limitations of the pneumatological renewal of the sentence may point to a conciliar and pragmatic-editorial rather than pneumatological motive. In that case, the objective was to take into consideration the relevant input, but to do it in such a way that the editorial process would not delay the document’s redaction more than absolutely necessary. If that was the case, it was much more attractive to repair a weakness, as Butler had proposed, than to reconceive the reflection in a pneumatological manner, as Ziadé had wished.

The significance of the editorial motive is also apparent from the gradual reduction of the size of the text as well as various other adaptations. The fact that the new sentence was drafted and introduced in response to various wishes by the Council fathers points to the importance of the conciliar motive for the development of the sentence.

Various players were involved. Archbishop Ziadé and Abbot Butler played an important role by means of their critical interventions. Further, Congar played an important role by providing a text which not only answered to the requests for a more cosmic, ecclesiological eschatology but also

---

<sup>814</sup> AS III/5, 58-59. The codes refer to the following Council fathers: de Provençères (E/2627); Hermaniuk (E/2678); Elchinger (E/2680); Jaeger, who spoke in the name of many German bishops (E/2710); László (E/2743); Ziadé (E/2673B) and Butler (E/2681). The *Relatio* placed the text between what would become LG 48-A and what would become LG 48-D, for it links its comment to “line 4” in the *Textus emendatus* (AS III/1, 336), that is, after the sentence “Non tamen in terris consummabitur” (that is, what would become LG 48-A), before the sentence “Coniungimur quidem Christo” (that is, what would become LG 48-D). Cf. Cardinal Santos’ spoken *Relatio*, AS III/5, 63, “Recte etiam postulatum fuit ut clariore in luce poneretur functio quam Spiritus Sanctus exercet in Ecclesia ad patriam peregrinante. Ideo iam prima paragrapho huius Capituli et deinceps pluries sublineavimus aspectum pneumatologicum doctrinae in nostro Capite expositae”.



incorporated the pneumatological aspects. Philips and Heuschen adapted Congar's text and Molinari inserted it into the official draft. The Subcommittee and the Doctrinal Commission approved the new text, one Council father requested the insertion of the clause *per Eum*, and finally the Council fathers approved the October draft as well as the *Expensio modorum*.

So far I have focused on sentence 2. What about the development of the other half of LG 48-B, sentence 3? Figure thirty shows the first phase of the development of the sentence, from the Congar draft to Moeller's version, based on it;<sup>815</sup> figure thirty-one shows the next phase, with two versions of draft no. 1971 (that I have called 1971-I and 1971-II) that were discussed on October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1964, in the Doctrinal Commission, and on which the final text *Lumen gentium* is based.<sup>816</sup> The interdependence of these texts is apparent in the recurring words *inceptit in Christo*, *in missione Spiritus Sancti* and *in Ecclesia*, that I have rendered in bold. All drafts speak about the beginning of something new in Christ, with reference to the Spirit and the Church.

Congar	Moeller
<p>Nova ergo creatio, novi nempe coeli novaque terra, in quibus iustitia habitat, quam promissam expectamus (*),</p> <p><b>iam inceptit in Christo</b> qui praedestinatus est Filius Dei in virtute secundum Spiritum sanctificationis ex resurrectione mortuorum (Rm. 1,4; cf 2Cor 5,17),</p> <p>inceptit <b>in missione Spiritus Sancti</b>, pignoris hereditatis nostrae (Eph 1,14), cuius gratis spes confundere nequit (cf Rm 5,5);</p> <p>inceptit <b>in Ecclesia</b>, quae est «mundus reconciliatus» (Aug. (...)), Corpus Christi et plenitudo Eius qui omnia in omnibus adimpletur (Eph 1,23);</p> <p>inceptit denique in sanctis, hominibus nempe noviter in Christo creatis (**), quorum Regina Beatissima Virgo Maria existit, quibus per gratiam annumeramur et nos, in quibus operatur Spiritus fructus suos.</p> <p>(*) Cf Is 65,17; 66,22; Apoc 21,1 et 5; 2 Petr 3,13.</p> <p>(**) Cf Eph 2,10; 14-15; 4,24; 2 Cor 5,16sq.; Gal 6,15; Jn 3,3; etc.</p>	<p>Nova ergo creatio, novi nempe coeli novaque terra, in quibus iustitia habitat, quam promissam expectamus,</p> <p><b>iam inceptit in Christo</b>,</p> <p>inceptit <b>in missione Spiritus Sancti</b>, pignoris hereditatis nostrae, (</p> <p>inceptit <b>in Ecclesia</b>, quae est «mundus reconciliatus» (Aug, ...),</p> <p>inceptit denique in sanctis hominibus nempe noviter in Christo creatis.</p>

**Figure 30.** The development of LG 48-B (sentence 3), first phase. Bold: texts in common with figure 31.

Yet the context of these words changes. Congar specified that “the new creation” and “the new heavens and the new earth” have already begun in Christ and the Spirit as well as in the Church, the saints and in us. Moeller preserved Congar's style, the cosmological nature of the statement, and much of Congar's phrases, although he also noticeably shortened the text. The editors of draft no. 1971 were

<sup>815</sup> For Congar, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1968, 1-2; for Moeller, see no. 1966 (*verso*).

<sup>816</sup> See CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1971, 1; at the bottom of the page there is an “alia versio” for this section. The *alia versio* has various handwritten corrections, that are identical to the final text.

more radical in their editorial work. While maintaining the phrase *iam incepit in Christo* and the words *in missione Spiritus Sancti* and *in Ecclesia*, they replaced some of the material with other phrases. Instead of the opening phrase on the new creation came a phrase on the promised restitution, possibly inspired by the Philips draft (see figure twenty-nine).<sup>817</sup> And not only was the number of *inceptit in* phrases that Moeller had reduced to Christ, Spirit, Church and saints further reduced, the editors also developed the phrase on the Church and thereby highlighted the significance of the Church.

1971-I	1971-II	<i>Lumen gentium</i>
Restitutio ergo quam promissam expectamus,  <b>iam incepit in Christo</b> et <b>in Spiritus Sancti missione</b> continue evolvitur <b>in Ecclesia</b>  in qua volem terrestris quoque vitae fide cognoscimus et, utentes hoc mundo tamquam non utentes (cf. 1 Cor.7,30-31),  salutem nostram operamur (cf. Phil. 2,12).	Restitutio ergo quam promissam expectamus,  <b>iam incepit in Christo,</b> inceptit <b>in missione Spiritus Sancti,</b> inceptit <b>in Ecclesia,</b>  in qua, fide coelesti de sensu vitae nostrae terrestis edocti, utentes hoc mundo tamquam non utentes (cf. 1 Cor.7,30-31),  salutem nostram operamur.	(3) Restitutio ergo quam promissam expectamus,  <b>iam incepit in Christo,</b> provehitur <b>in missione Spiritus Sancti</b> et per Eum pergit <b>in Ecclesia</b>  in qua per fidem de sensu quoque vitae nostrae temporalis edocemur, dum opus a Patre nobis in mundo commissum cum spe futurorum bonorum ad finem perducimus et salutem nostram operamur (cf. Phil 2,12).

**Figure 31.** The development of LG 48-B (sentence 3), second phase. Bold: texts in common with figure 30.

The exact development of the latter phrase could be traced, yet for our research it is more relevant to zoom in on the development of the sentence on the Holy Spirit. Draft no. 1971-I presented two options. Draft 1971-I reserved the word *inceptit* for Christ. According to this draft, the promised fulfillment had started in Christ and developed in the Spirit's mission and in the Church. The alternative draft 1971-II preserved the style of a series of *inceptit in* phrases, introduced by Congar, although in shortened form. The final draft combined these two drafts: it followed draft 1971-II in using three verbs and draft 1971-I in not using a series of *inceptit* phrases but other verbs: it has begun in Christ, it continues in the mission of the Spirit and it goes on in the Church through Him.

During the final round of editing the pneumatological weight of the reflection was enlarged by admitting the request to add the words *per Eum*. The Council father who made the proposal, did so in

<sup>817</sup> Heuschen noted in his draft, "Restitutio quam promissam expectamus, jam incepit", without continuing the sentence further, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1966 (*recto*). The word *restitutio* made sense from a stylistic point of view, as, in Philips' text, the previous sentence had concluded with *tempus restitutionis omnium*, see no. 1965. In draft no. 1971 and the final text, the topic is somewhat abruptly introduced, for the phrase that introduced this notion was moved to the opening sentence.

order that the text states unambiguously that “the mission of the Spirit is not a merely historical event but constantly lasts and works in the Church”.<sup>818</sup>

A major motive in these developments was pneumatological too. For these phrases too stemmed from Congar’s text, and Congar’s text had taken note of Ziadé’s pneumatological criticism. And as sentence 2 and 3 share the same *relatio*, the official explanation that these phrases meant to speak more explicitly about the Spirit’s function in the pilgrim Church is valid for this sentence too. Further, by reducing the number of *incepit* phrases, the significance of the Spirit’s role (alongside Christ’s and the Church’s) increased. However, in this case too one cannot speak of a deep and broadly shared pneumatological motive, and this for the same reasons listed for sentence 2. Only a limited number of two Council fathers noted the pneumatological weakness of the *schema emendatus*. The difference between the *relatio*’s apparent intention to speak on the Spirit’s function and the reality of the text in which no function is specified suggests too that pneumatology was not a major concern.

Finally, in this case the editorial and conciliar motive played a role too. And more or less the same players were involved as in sentence 2.

In conclusion, the pneumatological development in this paragraph should be understood as part of a broader, theological, ecclesiological and cosmological renewal that was inspired by the criticism of the too narrow and individual approach of the *Textus emendatus*. That renewal is not without ambiguities. While the critique by Ziadé and Butler and the draft by Congar bear witness of a pneumatological concern, the small number of Council fathers pleading for more pneumatology and the difference between the intention of the final text and what it actually states suggest that, generally speaking pneumatological awareness and concern were rather limited.

### ***Lumen Gentium 48-C***

Subsection LG 48-C, which makes the transition from the foundational subsection on Christ, Spirit and Church (LG 48-B) to the Church on pilgrimage (see chapter 6.1), does not contain references to the Spirit’s role. Nonetheless, a brief discussion of the history of this subsection helps to understand the development of LG 48 as a whole. Figure thirty-two shows the development of sentences 4 and 5. I have rendered texts in common in bold; italics indicate that phrases or words were moved.<sup>819</sup>

---

<sup>818</sup> AS III/8, 141, “Unus pater rogat ut dicatur: «provehitur in missione Spiritus Sancti et *per Ipsum* pergit in Ecclesia ...». *Ratio*: missio Spiritus Sancti non est mere eventus historicus sed constanter perdurat et agit in Ecclesia”. The Commission preferred *per Eum*.

<sup>819</sup> For Jaeger, see AS III/1, 483-484. For draft no. 1970, see CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1970; this is a draft that with minor changes (such as *coelum* becoming *coeli*) is copied in draft no. 1971. The final text is identical to the October 1964 *textus emendatus* (see AS III/5, 50), based on draft no. 1971, except for minor changes (such as *pertinentibus* becoming *quae pertinent*).

Jaeger	Draft no. 1970	<i>Lumen gentium</i>
<p>Ecclesia ipsa iam nunc est indolis eschatologica.</p> <p>Est enim <i>Ecclesia</i> ex una parte ad patriam <i>peregrinans, portat “figuram huius saeculi”, quae praeterit</i> (1 Cor 7,31), <b>in</b> suis institutionibus et sacramentis et cognoscit Dei veritatem in speculo et aenigmate (cf 1 Cor 13,12).</p> <p>Et ipsa includitur ordine creaturae, <i>quae ingemiscit et parturit usque adhuc et expectat revelationem filiorum Dei</i> (cf <i>Rom. 8,22 et 19</i>).</p> <p>Tunc demum erunt <b>caelum novum et nova terra</b> (cf Apoc. 21,1).</p> <p>Nihilominus ex altera parte haec in terris Ecclesia est illa, ad quam <i>finis saeculorum iam pervenerunt</i> (1 Cor.10,11). Est enim sacramentum aeterni testamenti, est Ecclesia Verbi incarnati, in cuius morte et resurrectione mundi creati deificatio iam <i>irrevocabiliter constituta</i> est. Fide et spe Ecclesiae mundi historia finem iam possidet, quo altior nec cogitari potest.</p>	<p>Sanctitas ad quem in Christo Iesu vocamur omnes ...</p> <p>Nam licet <i>finis saeculorum ad nos pervenerint</i> (cf. 1Cor 10,11) in morte et resurrectione Verbi incarnati deificatio creationis <i>irrevocabiliter</i> sit iam <i>constituta</i>,</p> <p>tamen donec <b>novum coelum et nova terra</b> fuerint,</p> <p><i>Ecclesia</i> quae in hac terra est,</p> <p><i>portat figuram huius saeculi quae praeterit</i> (1 Cor 7,21) et inter creaturas <i>peregrinatur quae ingemiscunt et parturiunt usque adhuc et exspectant revelationem filiorum Dei</i> (cf. <i>Rom 8,22 et 19</i>).</p>	<p>(4) Iam ergo <b>finis saeculorum ad nos pervenerunt</b> (cf. 1Cor 10,11) et renovatio mundi</p> <p><b>irrevocabiliter est constituta</b> atque in hoc saeculo reali quodam modo anticipatur: etenim Ecclesia iam in terris vera sanctitate licet imperfecta insignitur.</p> <p>(5) Donec tamen fuerint <b>novi coeli et nova terra</b>, in quibus iustitia habitat (cf. 2Pt 3,13), <b>Ecclesia peregrinans</b>, in suis sacramentis et institutionibus, quae ad hoc aevum pertinent,</p> <p><b>portat figuram huius saeculi quae praeterit</b> et ipsa inter creaturas degit <b>quae ingemiscunt et parturiunt usque adhuc et exspectant revelationem filiorum Dei</b> (cf. <b>Rom 8,19-22</b>).</p>

**Figure 32.** The development of LG 48-C. Bold: texts in common. Italics: order changed.

Figure thirty-two shows that this subsection is based on a text proposal in the name of “more than seventy German-speaking Bishops” by Lorenz Jaeger, bishop of Paderborn (Germany).<sup>820</sup> With this text, they meant to develop the idea of ‘already’ and ‘not yet’ in an ecclesiological manner, and thereby to give the Church a more prominent place in the reflection. They started with the Church’s eschatology: “Ecclesia ipsa iam nunc est indolis eschatologica”. The sentences on holiness (see figure twenty-eight, *Textus emendatus*) were to follow after this fundamental eschatological ecclesiological reflection.

In addition, figure thirty-two shows that Molinari restructured the material into one comprehensive sentence (see draft no. 1970). It started with the end of times, which already has arrived, then recalled the promise of a new earth and a new heaven, and concluded with the Church

<sup>820</sup> AS III/1, 483-484. Jaeger (1892-1975) was ecumenically interested and a member of the Secretariat for Christian Unity in the preconiliar period and during the Council itself, see A. Klein, M. Quisinsky, P. Walter, “Jaeger, Lorenz”, Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 140.

which, therefore, is on a pilgrimage. Thus the phrased moved from ‘already’ to ‘not yet’, which it then applied to the Church. Moreover, Molinari placed the sentence immediately after the opening sentence on holiness (see figure twenty-eight). As a result, draft no. 1970 featured a somewhat strange opening paragraph, which started in the first sentence with holiness and continued in the long next sentence with the Church.

The next official draft from October 1964 made two changes and thereby substantially improved the content and coherence of the text. Using Congar, the draft developed the opening sentence by including the cosmic and Christological dimension of eschatology (see figure twenty-eight). Next, using Congar’s text once more, the draft introduced a foundational theological paragraph – LG 48-B – which functioned as a theological introduction for the more ecclesiological reflection in subsection LG 48-C.

This brief overview is instructive by showing that LG 48’s text has been enlarged in two phases, inspired by two different text proposals. While Congar’s conceived eschatology cosmologically, the German’s focused on the Church; as we saw, this frustrated Congar.<sup>821</sup> Moreover, as the text proposed by Jaeger and more than seventy others, and meant to be an improvement, contained not a single reference to the Holy Spirit, it also confirms that pneumatology was a marginal concern amongst the Council fathers who were reviewing the Council’s eschatology.

### ***Lumen Gentium 48-D***

The final paragraph of LG 48 focuses on what I have called the spirituality of the Christian eschatological life (see chapter 6.1). It consists of a series of sentences, the first of which contains two references to the Spirit. Figure thirty-three on the next page shows the introduction of the pneumatological phrases in drafts no. 1970 and no. 1971; the October 1964 draft and the final text are identical to the latter draft.<sup>822</sup>

---

<sup>821</sup> See Congar, *Mon journal du concile*, vol. 2, 181, quoted in footnote 762.

<sup>822</sup> See AS III/1, 336; CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1970; no. 1971.

<i>Textus emendatus</i>	Draft no. 1970	Draft no. 1971 / <i>Lumen gentium</i>
<p><b>Coniungimur quidem Christo in Ecclesia</b></p> <p>ac filii Dei nominamur et sumus (cf. 1 Io. 3,1), sed nondum apparuimus cum Ipso in gloria (cf. Col. 3,4), in qua similes ei erimus; quoniam videbimus Deum sicuti est (cf. 1 Io. 3,2).</p> <p><b>Itaque «dum sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a Domino» (2 Cor. 5,6)</b></p> <p>desiderium habentes esse cum Christo (cf. Phil. 1, 23) ...</p>	<p><b>Coniungimur ergo Christo in Ecclesia</b>  <u>et signati sumus Spiritu Sancto «qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae» (Eph. 1,14), et</u>  <b>vere filii Dei nominamur et sumus (cf. 1 Io. 3,1), sed nondum apparuimus cum Christo in gloria (cf. Col. 3,4), in qua similes Deo erimus; quoniam videbimus Eum sicuti est (cf. 1 Io. 3,2).</b></p> <p><b>Itaque «dum sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a Domino» (2 Cor. 5,6)</b>  <u>et primitias Spiritus habentes intra nos gemimus (cf. Rom. 8,23)</u>  desiderium habentes esse cum Christo (cf. Phil. 1, 23).</p>	<p><b>(6) Coniuncti ergo Christo in Ecclesia</b>  et signati Spiritu Sancto «qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae» (Eph. 1,14),  <b>vere filii Dei nominamur et sumus (cf. 1 Io. 3,1), sed nondum apparuimus cum Christo in gloria (cf. Col. 3,4), in qua similes Deo erimus; quoniam videbimus Eum sicuti est (cf. 1 Io. 3,2).</b></p> <p><b>(7) Itaque «dum sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a Domino» (2 Cor. 5,6)</b>  et primitias Spiritus habentes intra nos gemimus (cf. Rom. 8,23)  et cupimus esse cum Christo (cf. Phil. 1, 23).</p>

**Figure 33.** The development of LG 48-D (first two sentences). Bold, underlined, hard line breaks, numbers added.

Figure thirty-three shows that there is substantial continuity between the final text and the July 1964 *Textus emendatus*. In fact, that continuity includes the *Textus prior* as well, and some phrases go back to the earlier draft VIII's opening article (that had been added) on the eschatological calling to holiness; I will not pursue that investigation as its details are not relevant for our investigation.<sup>823</sup>

Further, figure thirty-three shows that the two pneumatological phrases were introduced into the text in late September and early October 1964, during the editorial work in response to the discussion on Schema 3. Thereby the approach to divine sonship and to the eschatological desire for being with Christ in the *Textus emendatus* changed from Christomonistic to binitarian or trinitarian (depending on the interpretation of *Deum*). Especially sentence 6 displays an impressive parallel between Christ and the Spirit. It is on the basis of being joined to Christ and sealed with or by the Holy Spirit that we are children of God. Still, the final phrases of both sentences reveal that the christocentric approach does not disappear.

Pneumatological motives played a major role in these changes. The *Relatio* referred in relation to these changes to Abbot Butler and explained that, in addition, the first pneumatological reference

<sup>823</sup> Cf. the opening article of Draft VIII, "Omnes qui cum Christo consurrexerunt et in Ecclesia ad sanctitatem vocantur quae sursum sunt quaerant oportet, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens; quae sursum sunt sapiant, non quae super terram (cf. Col., 3,12). «Non enim habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus» (Hebr. 13,14) et «dum sumus in corpore peregrinamur a Domino; per fidem enim ambulamus et non per speciem» (2 Cor. 5, 6-7). Ideoque recte admonemur confirmari «in sanctitate ante Deum et Patrem nostrum in adventu Domini nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus sanctis eius» (1 Thess. 3,13) et contendere, imo et currere ut incorruptam coronam accipiamus (cf. 1 Cor. 9,25). Equidem «nunc filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quid erimus. Scimus quoniam cum apparuit, similes ei erimus; quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est» (1 Io. 3,2)". Molinari, "La storia del capitolo VII", 169.

had been strengthened with another one.<sup>824</sup> Butler, whose first observation was that the text was lacking references to the Holy Spirit and in the spoken text expressed his agreement with Ziadé,<sup>825</sup> had indeed proposed to add “et Spiritu promissionis Sancto, qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae, signati sumus”.<sup>826</sup>

The *Relatio* suggests that the editors were driven by pneumatological motives too, for they subtly changed and deepened what Butler had proposed. While Butler spoke about the Spirit after the phrases on being related to Christ and being *fili Dei*, so that divine sonship was conceived only from the Son,<sup>827</sup> draft no. 1971 opted for a both Christological and pneumatological conception of divine sonship. Moreover, the editors developed the reference suggested by Butler with another one, by means of which they “strengthened” it. Possibly, they chose the text for the similarity between the *pignus hereditatis* in the first pneumatological text and the *primitias Spiritus* mentioned in Rom 8:23. Possibly Ziadé’s reference to Rom 8:22-25 played a role.<sup>828</sup>

However, the depth of the pneumatological motive should not be overestimated. In the first place, during various previous editorial rounds, pneumatology had not played a role at all. Although the various drafts reformulated, replaced and restructured phrases and sentences, no one took the initiative to improve the text’s lacking pneumatology. In many drafts, Christ was mentioned and the Holy Spirit was (almost) not.<sup>829</sup> Moreover, in addressing the pneumatological weakness of the text, Butler considered it something that could easily be mended. Butler did not see that adding a single phrase would not fundamentally alter the text’s theological orientation. Logically therefore, the pneumatological renewal affected only a small part of the text and did not alter the Christ-centered orientation of the text. While the editorial work resulted in a parallelism between Christ and the Spirit in sentences 6 and 7, the subsequent sentences do not give any signs of an increasing pneumatological perspective. When the very next sentence 8 speaks about living “for Him who died for us and rose again”, apparently no need was felt to complement the christocentric perspective (see figure twenty-

<sup>824</sup> AS III/5, 59, “Introducta sunt in textum verba: «signati Spiritu Sancto ‘qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae’ (Eph. 1, 14)» secundum observationem E/2681 (= Butler); quae verba paucas post lineas roborantur alia citatione scripturistica, Rom. 8,23”.

<sup>825</sup> AS III/1, 420-421, “Et primum mentio de Sancto Spiritu auctore omnis humanae sanctitatis prope omnino deficit”.

<sup>826</sup> AS III/1, 421.

<sup>827</sup> AS III/1, 421, cf. “N. 48 (...). Post «et sumus» addatur: «et Spiritu promissionis Sancto, qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae, signati sumus».”

<sup>828</sup> AS III/1, 390, cf. text, “Porro illud (the *iam ac nondum* of the Kingdom) est mysterium Spiritus Sancti. Ille est personaliter primitiae hereditatis nostrae (Eph. 1,14) ac simul ille est qui ingemiscit in nobis et in creatione tota ut adimpletur Adventus Domini (Rom. 8,18-25)”. Cf. the reference to Romans 8 by Cullmann during the meeting with the Secretariat for Christian Unity on October 15<sup>th</sup>, when the chapter on the hierarchy was on the table. Cullmann criticised the fact that the Roman Catholic mass for omitting important texts on the Holy Spirit “et tout particulièrement celui de Romains 8 où le Saint Esprit est présenté en rapport avec l’histoire du salut”, CSVII, Archive Philips, no. 1052, 6.

<sup>829</sup> See the text of draft V and draft VIII, Molinari, “La storia del capitolo VII”, 159-176, as well as the *textus prior* and the *textus emendatus*, AS III/1, 336-337.

six). It is therefore not without irony that one reads that the *Relatio* wished to strengthen the pneumatological phrase in sentence 6 with another one in sentence 7. For if it really wanted to strengthen that sentence, it should have done so throughout the whole reflection on eschatological spirituality.

The latter observation suggests that editorial and conciliar motives played a major role. The editors took into account the concrete suggestions for improvement, and fitted these into the text as best as they could. That did include following Butler – and even elaborating Butler’s suggestion – but it did not include a wholesale pneumatological reconsideration.

The pneumatological renewal of this sentence goes back to a few persons, notably Abbot Butler, to whom we owe the text proposal that was largely followed, and Molinari and his collaborators, who added the sentence to draft no. 1970 and strengthened the first reference by adding Rom 8:23. Of course, the Council as a whole was also involved, in so far as they ratified the text that was proposed to them.

In conclusion, the introduction of two Spirit-references points undeniably to pneumatological renewal. Yet upon closer consideration, that renewal was fairly limited from all perspectives: the text itself, motives and authors.

### **Intermediary Conclusion**

What does the exploration of the redaction-historical development of LG 48 reveal about its pneumatological renewal? Both the development of the letter of the text and its background suggest that the pneumatological renewal in LG 48 is best characterised as ambivalent.

For on the one hand, we have witnessed a development from zero to twelve Spirit-propositions in LG 48-B and LG 48-D. In the case of LG 48-B, the introduction of these propositions is part of a broader renewal that involves cosmology and ecclesiology; in the latter case, the introduction of these propositions opened up two Christomonistic sentences on Christian eschatological spirituality. Yet on the other hand, LG 48-A and LG 48-C were unaffected by pneumatological renewal, and LG 48-D was so only in its first sentences. Moreover, LG 48 as a whole, including the sentences to which Spirit-propositions were added, continues to be Christ-centered. Thus the letter of the text bears witness to pneumatological renewal, to its limitation (LG 48-D) and to an absence of pneumatological renewal (LG 48-A, LG 48-C).

The ambivalence remains if one considers the background of this renewal or its authorial intention or motive. For on the one hand, the pneumatological renewal had been explicitly requested by two Council fathers and the pneumatological sentences were deliberately added, so the *Relatio*. But on the other hand, only two Council fathers spoke about the text’s pneumatological deficiencies and amongst others Cardinal Urbani welcomed the Spirit-lacking text as needing no change. Arguably



therefore, in this phase of the redaction history of *Lumen gentium*, the number of Council fathers and theologians with a pneumatological concern was very small. Moreover, there are little signs that the text was fundamentally reconceived. Instead, conciliar and editorial motives probably played a major role.

The difference between the actual text and the spirit, or authorial intention and background, points at the same ambivalence. While sentences 2 and 3 articulate the Spirit's role in an instrumental manner, the *Relatio* explained that it wished the text to speak about the Spirit's *functio*. Similarly, the fact that subsection LG 48-D on Christian eschatological spirituality mentions the Spirit in sentence 6 and 7 is inconsistent with the explanation in the *Relatio* that the editors had wished to strengthen the pneumatological reference in sentence 6, for that intention was realised only in sentence 7, not in sentences 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12. In fact, a similar ambivalence characterizes Butler's observation that pneumatology was lacking and his very practical approach to solving that problem, as if a fundamental weakness could be solved by introducing one short phrase on the Spirit.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, what exactly does the pneumatological renewal in LG 48 consist in? How does the text change for the better in pneumatological terms? The redaction-historical exploration reveals that the number of Spirit-propositions increased spectacularly, yet that this renewal remained ambivalent as the text and Council fathers both did and did not integrate the Spirit into the reflection (chapter 6.3). The considerations of the text and its context (chapter 6.1) and its development (chapter 6.2) further qualify that conclusion.

In the first place, the significance of what we found in chapter 6.3 increases in the light of the fact that, as I argued in chapter 6.1, LG 48 is a foundational text that is moreover highly significant in linking LG 49-51 to *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology. In other words, a text that is crucial to *Lumen gentium*'s seventh chapter has undergone ambivalent pneumatological renewal.

Secondly, the diachronic exploration may only at first sight offer an explanation for this weakness. For the redaction-historical overview showed that, when Larraona's team added an introductory subsection on the Church's eschatological pilgrimage, it did so primarily for strategical reasons: they had to 'glue' an earlier, separate text on the saints to the ecclesiological constitution. Initially, the glue was mainly applied to the part on the saints, that was developed in the direction of an eschatological spirituality of holiness (LG 48-D); later, the glue was also applied on the other side by reflecting on the eschatology of the Church and the cosmos (LG 48-B and C). However, precisely this is telling, not to say, alarming. For it meant that when the mind of the Council fathers was on the glue, it was not on the Holy Spirit. In other words, the Spirit was not naturally part of the theological reflection.

Further reflection would probably substantiate our findings. For example, because the *Relatio* repeatedly professed its intention to specify the Spirit's function or office (*munus*),<sup>830</sup> the conclusion that there is a contrast between the actual text and its intention may be valid for the whole chapter. It may be so all the more as the Holy Spirit's place in LG 49-51 is more modest than in LG 48, and as most of these references do not specify an active role either.

Thirdly, exploring pneumatological renewal by reading the text in its context and considering the letter of the text but also its spirit has a "demythologizing" effect. It is precisely because I have delved into the text that I have been able to notice the contrast between letter and spirit in sentences 2 and 3 and the pneumatological inconsistency in subsection LG 48-D. Further, the fact that only one Council father requested the text to be fundamentally reworked relativizes the pneumatological renewal at the surface of the text. Therefore it is precisely because we know more about the background of LG 48's development that we know less what *exactly* its pneumatological renewal consists in.

---

<sup>830</sup> For LG 49, "Iterum specialis mentio Spiritus Sancti facta est (E/2681 (= Butler)), ut eius munus in Ecclesia peregrinante clariore in luce ponatur", *AS* III/5, 60. For LG 50, "Inserta sunt verba «*in Spiritu*» ut iterum clarius indicetur functio Spiritus Sancti in Ecclesia" and "Aliqua verba hic adiuncta sunt ut clarius indicetur actio Spiritus Sancti in vita sacramentali Ecclesiae, uti postulatum est in voto E/2673 B (= Ziadé)", *AS* III/5, 61.



## Chapter 7

### Pneumatological Renewal in *Lumen Gentium* from a Redaction-Historical Perspective

The previous two chapters concentrated on the redaction history of two articles, LG 4 and LG 48. On the basis of these chapters, what conclusions can be drawn about the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* in redaction-historical perspective? I will first compare the results of the two explorations, that I will then evaluate.

In the first place, chapters five and six have shown that at the level of the text, both articles revealed substantial yet inconsistent pneumatological renewal, with significant differences in the outcome. In the editorial process, Schema 1's binitarian theological introduction became trinitarian by means of a Spirit-centered article, that was introduced in Schema 2 and enlarged in Schema 3, and that featured a remarkable pneumatology. Similarly, the originally Spirit-oblivious introductory article LG 48 was enriched with various Spirit-references. That renewal is not consistent. In the case of LG 4, that is apparent from a consideration of the article in its wider context, e.g. by comparing LG 2-4 with LG 1 or by comparing LG 4's bold pneumatology with that of other articles. In the case of LG 48, that is clear from a comparison between LG 48-B with LG 48-A and LG 48-C, or a comparison of the various sentences with or without Spirit-references in LG 48-D, or a comparison between LG 48 and LG 49-51. The outcome of the renewal is different. While LG 4 speaks of the Spirit as subject, LG 48 does not do so and describes the Spirit rather as the instrument that Christ works with or through.

In the second place, the exploration in chapters five and six showed that, from the perspective of the authors, the pneumatological renewal situates itself at the margins of the conciliar event. Admittedly, various Council fathers contributed to the elaboration of LG 4 by proposing improvements or enlargements and the intense discussions in the Doctrinal Commission on this article bear witness to its involvement too. Finally, the Council fathers voted in great majority in favour of both LG 4 and LG 48. However, the binitarian structure of Schema 1 was criticized by only a few Council fathers, and only some alternative text proposals featured a trinitarian opening. It is especially significant that LG 4's very fundamental renewal of the pneumatological style is due to very few persons, namely the Chileans, who introduced this style in their proposal; Moeller, who proposed to opt for the Chilean style, probably supported by Prignon; and Philips, who refused to alter that style when it was criticized. The number of people involved in LG 48's pneumatological renewal is very limited too. Only two Council fathers criticized LG 48, only one of whom had fundamental questions.

One gets the impression that most Council fathers had other concerns than pneumatology. In the case of LG 4, the more important concerns were various issues related to a less hierarchy-centered, more theological and more inclusive ecclesiology, such as the mystery of the Church, the laity and episcopal collegiality. In the case of LG 48, the concern was rather to glue the articles on the saints to the Constitution on the Church, and to do so in a theologically responsible way, that is, in a Christological, ecclesiological and cosmological manner.

That brings us to a third consideration. The exploration in the previous chapters reveals that, while some interventions and proposals clearly had pneumatological grounds, in both cases there is little ground for supposing a broad, single-minded and deep pneumatological motive. It is neither clear why the Chileans opted for the particular pneumatological style in what would become LG 4, nor for what pneumatological reason Philips maintained it when it was criticized. The ambivalence of the pneumatological renewal in LG 48, e.g. in relation to what the *Relatio* calls the *functio* of the Spirit, yields a similar conclusion. Moreover, inasmuch as Council fathers demonstrated pneumatological convictions, they everything but agreed. The variety of perspectives on Pentecost may serve as an example or, in the case of chapter seven, the difference between Butler, who deemed that the chapter could easily be mended, and Ziadé, who wanted a fundamental redrafting. Thus it is not clear what convictions underpin the pneumatological renewal that the textual history witnesses to. Possibly, the main reason for the pneumatological changes in LG 4 and LG 48 was the conciliar motive to include the suggestions that were made in so far as possible and the editorial motive for a concise and correct text. How to evaluate these findings? Firstly, it has turned out to be useful to distinguish between textual development, authors and motives.

Secondly, in concrete terms this layered approach leads to a demythologized view of pneumatological renewal. At the surface of the text, the changes in LG 4 and LG 48 look like pneumatological renewal. Yet under the surface it is considerably less clear that the changes are deliberate improvements for the better. What from the perspective of the letter appears as pneumatological renewal is considerably less clear so from the perspective of the spirit of the text.

Thirdly, in chapter four I briefly introduced the place of pneumatology in *Lumen gentium*'s redaction history. The case studies in chapter five and six showed that the pneumatological renewal turns in LG 4 and LG 48 are limited. If that is the case in these articles which both featured a substantial number of Spirit-propositions that were the fruit of pneumatological renewal, it is probable that the pneumatological renewal in the other articles, if explored, will turn out to be similarly modest or even more modest.

Finally, the explorations in chapters five and six shed light on the structural analysis (chapter 3.2), where I observed that some chapters and articles feature more Spirit-propositions than others. I wondered if a theological consideration of the mystery of the Church needs more pneumatology than one on the hierarchy. And does a reflection on the hierarchy need more pneumatology than one on the laity? Or does the uneven nature of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology suggest that its pneumatological

renewal happened in stops and starts and that it is not finished yet? The fact that in the case of LG 4 and LG 48, few Council fathers and experts were pneumatologically aware and concerned, and the fact that the pneumatological motive was not dominant, suggests that the latter, redaction-historical explanation is more probable than a theological one. That is also true for the differences that were found in the theological and argumentative analysis: at least in part they should be explained from the limited pneumatological awareness and concern amongst Council fathers and experts.



PART III

PNEUMATOLOGICAL RENEWAL  
FROM A THEOLOGICAL-HISTORICAL  
PERSPECTIVE





## Chapter 8

### Methodological and Theological-Historical Introduction

In the previous part, I have explored the pneumatological renewal during *Lumen gentium*'s editorial process. In this third part, I will draw the circle wider and consider pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* from a theological-historical perspective. How is the pneumatological conception of *Lumen gentium* different from that of earlier, preconciliar magisterial ecclesiology? What does the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* consist of theological-historically?

In order for this theological-historical exploration to be as detailed as possible, I will focus on a single document, that I will analyse in the same way as I did with *Lumen gentium* (see chapter three). For this, I have chosen the 1943 encyclical *Mystici corporis*. Admittedly, a papal and a conciliar document are not the same, but a possibly more ideal comparison with Vatican I is not an option, as its ecclesiology was not completed.<sup>831</sup> Moreover, the focus is historical: the two documents represent magisterial convictions on the Church at different moments in time. For although the encyclical's second part on unity with Christ seems to belong to the domain of spirituality rather than ecclesiology, it should be understood as an integral part of that, as *Mystici corporis* links unity with Christ to unity with the hierarchical Church. The fact that the time span between *Mystici corporis* and *Lumen gentium* is relatively limited makes it particularly interesting what changes occurred, all the more so as the Council fathers were all (more or less) familiar with *Mystici corporis* and its ecclesiology. That is also the reason that Paul VI's encyclical *Ecclesiam suam*, published on Augst 6<sup>th</sup>, 1964, is less fit for making a theological-historical comparison with *Lumen gentium*. Although the differences in content between the encyclical and *Lumen gentium* justify an in-depth analysis, *Ecclesiam suam* stems from the same historical period as *Lumen gentium* (which was officially approved on November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1964), so that it is difficult to make a theological-historical comparison.

Before delving into the pneumatological details of the text, I would like to introduce this theological-historical perspective by making some comments on pneumatological renewal in theological-historical perspective. Generally speaking, how was the Holy Spirit conceived in the decades before the Council, especially in relation to the Church? And what pneumatological impulses were there during the first half of the twentieth century? I will highlight four topics: the christocentric framework of the theology of the Spirit (chapter 8.1); the Spirit, the hierarchy and charisms (chapter

---

<sup>831</sup> Its ecclesiology (as well as its redaction-history) has been explored in F. van der Horst, *Das Schema über die Kirche auf dem I. Vatikanischen Konzil* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1963). Obviously, Trent is too distant for a meaningful detailed theological-historical comparison.

8.2); indwelling, sanctification and appropriation (chapter 8.3); and the Spirit as principle or soul of the Church (chapter 8.4). Obviously, the discussion is introductory, not comprehensive.<sup>832</sup>

## 8.1 Christocentrism

Firstly, the decades before the council were marked by what in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* the German theologian Arno Schilson called a “Christologische Wende”,<sup>833</sup> and that led to a dominating christocentric ecclesiology. For example, *Mystici corporis*’ account of the founding of the Church was dominated by Christ. While this represented a step forward for ecclesiology, it put – or rather, kept – pneumatology in the shadow. In the encyclical, the Spirit was mentioned only in the last phase of the founding of the Church, where He was described as Christ’s instrument in manifesting and proclaiming the Church: “the Church which He (Christ, JM) founded by his Blood, He strengthened on the Day of Pentecost by a special power, given from heaven” (MC 30). In the late 1950s, Schmaus explained:

Da die Theologie Gott betrachtet, insofern er durch Christus den Menschen zugänglich geworden ist, wird in all ihren Aussagen die Bezogenheit auf Christus und zu dem in ihm erschienen Gottesreich hindurch schimmern müssen. Die Theologie hat daher Christologisches Gepräge. Ihre Theozentrik ist Christozentrik.<sup>834</sup>

---

<sup>832</sup> What Kothgasser observed in 1982 in an overview of twentieth-century theology still seems to hold true: “(es) gibt noch keinen historisch-genetischen und systematisch-analytischen Überblick über die katholische Pneumatologie im 20. Jahrhundert”, apart from some work by Congar and Breuning. See Kothgasser, “Die katholische Pneumatologie im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert”, 612. Cf. W. Breuning, “Pneumatologie”, Vorgrimler, Vander Gucht (eds.), *Bilanz der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3, 120-126 and Congar, *Je crois en l’Esprit Saint*, vol. 1, esp. 207-235. For general overviews of the history of pneumatology, see amongst others Congar, *Je crois en l’Esprit Saint*, vol. 1, esp. 93-235; R. Laurentin, *L’Esprit Saint, cet inconnu*, 367-463. In recent times, various overview works have appeared, amongst which the short historical introductions by LeRon Shults and Hollingsworth (2008) and by Sesboué (2009) as well as the voluminous study by Thiselton (2013) and Kärkkäinen (2016), see LeRon Shults, Hollingsworth, *The Holy Spirit*; Sesboué, *L’Esprit sans visage et sans voix*; A. Thiselton, *The Holy Spirit. In Biblical Teaching, Through the Centuries, and Today* (London: SCPK, 2013); V.-M. Kärkkäinen, *Spirit and Salvation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016).

<sup>833</sup> A. Schilson, “Christologie im 20. Jahrhundert”, in W. Kapser et al., *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., vol. 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 1170-1174, 1170.

<sup>834</sup> M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, vol. 1, 33. Section heading: “Christozentrik der Theologie”. In the earlier, 1948 version, Schmaus did not speak about “christocentrism”, yet the point was similar. Cf. the following quote from the section “Der Gegenstand der Theologie”: “Nach der bisherigen Darstellung ist der Hauptgegenstand der Theologie Gott und zwar nicht Gott an sich in seiner in sich ruhenden Majestät, sondern sofern er sich in Christus uns erschlossen hat und diese seine Selbsterschließung in der Kirche aufbewahrt und durch alle Jahrhunderte vermittelt wird”, M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 1.2, (München: Hüber, 1948), 26-27.

As a consequence of this christocentric approach, the place of the Spirit was problematic. For, as various theologians observed, how to conceive the Spirit besides Christ, if Christ dominates the theological reflection? In the 1940s, in his *Théologie du corps mystique*, having summed up what the Holy Spirit does, Émile Mersch wondered, “comment dire que l’Esprit fait tout sans cesser de dire que c’est le Christ qui fait tout?”<sup>835</sup> Ironically, his highly Christ-centered answer only bring us back to the question that it meant to answer: “l’Esprit est tout et fait tout à sa manière, comme le Père et le Fils sont tout et font tout à la leur. Mais ce tout se résume à l’incarnation et au Verbe incarné, et c’est par le Christ, par la totalité du Christ, que doit s’expliquer l’œuvre de l’Esprit. De même que l’humanité n’a accès au Père comme Père que dans le Fils incarné, ce n’est que dans ce Fils qu’elle possède l’Esprit comme Esprit”.<sup>836</sup>

In the 1950s, Congar too came across the issue. In an essay on the cooperation between the Holy Spirit and the hierarchy, Congar explained the Spirit’s role as interiorising what Christ has given: “Si le Saint-Esprit fait l’œuvre même du Christ, il y a pourtant son rôle propre, dont le Nouveau Testament nous indique assez clairement le sens. Jésus a posé une réalité objective de grâce et de vérité, de salut et de révélation; le Saint-Esprit nous l’applique et nous l’intériorise”.<sup>837</sup> As God’s Word is given by Christ, it is understood through the Spirit. However, as Congar realised, this makes the Spirit seems to be a vicar of Christ: “Par là, on serait enclin à penser qu’il y a, dans l’action de l’Esprit, un aspect de médiation répondant à une fonction vicariale, un peu comme dans l’action du Christ lui-même avant qu’il ait tout remis au Père pour que Dieu soit tout en tous”.<sup>838</sup> Thus, the issue remained. We have seen that christocentrism was also *Lumen gentium*’s starting point and that in various respects it continued to be prominent.

## 8.2 Spirit, Hierarchy and Charisms

Further, in the first half of the twentieth century, magisterial ecclesiology focused on the hierarchy and the visible aspects of the Church. The Holy Spirit was mentioned rarely, and if so, mostly for apologetical purposes. The Spirit was introduced as a theological guarantee and support for magisterial truthfulness and hierarchical authority. Pope Leo XIII’s 1896 encyclical *Satis cognitum*, “On the unity

---

<sup>835</sup> Mersch, *Corps mystique*, vol. 2, 119.

<sup>836</sup> See Mersch, *Corps mystique*, vol. 2, 120. Gregory Malanowski, who made a doctorate on Mersch at the Catholic University of America, remarked that the general approach of Mersch’ writings is christocentric, see G. Malanowski, “Émile Mersch, S.J. (1890-1940). Un christocentrisme unifié”, *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 112 (1990), 44-66. A similar point could be made in relation to Mersch’ view of the soul of the mystical body, see *Corps mystique*, vol. 2, 156-158.

<sup>837</sup> Congar, “Le Saint-Esprit et le Corps apostolique, réalisateurs de l’œuvre du Christ”, 133-134.

<sup>838</sup> Congar, “Le Saint-Esprit et le Corps apostolique, réalisateurs de l’œuvre du Christ”, 142, cf. 140-143; Congar tries to deny that the Spirit is *vicar* but does not convince, cf. “il n’est pas que vicar (so vicar He still is?, JM), il n’exerce pas un pur «ministère» du Verbe incarné, il n’est pas «instrument»”, 143.

of the Church”, counts sixteen articles, with ten references to the Spirit.<sup>839</sup> Seven of these are found in one single article, in which the reliability of the apostles is discussed.<sup>840</sup> The conclusive sentence of that article illustrates well Leo XIII’s apologetical attitude, for after quoting three Spirit-related sentences from the gospel of John, he concluded: “Hence He (Christ, JM) commands that the teaching of the apostles should be religiously accepted and piously kept as if it were his own”.

According to Congar, this type of pneumatology dominated nineteenth century pneumatology. The Spirit’s role was typically conceived in two parts: an inward mission in the faithful, mainly related with indwelling and sanctification, and an outward mission towards the hierarchy, often related with authority and truth, against the background of a hierarchy-centered ecclesiology.<sup>841</sup> In his words, “En un mot, on a vu l’Esprit, d’un côté comme principe de vie sainte des âmes individuelles – sa mission intérieure –, d’un autre côté comme la garantie des actes de l’institution, en particulier de son enseignement infaillible”.<sup>842</sup>

In 1897, towards the end of his life, Pope Leo XIII wrote an encyclical “on the presence and the powerful virtue of the Holy Spirit”,<sup>843</sup> that was structured according to the distinction between the Spirit’s “outward and visible mission in the Church and his secret indwelling in the souls of the

---

<sup>839</sup> “Epistola encyclica Sanctissimi Domini nostri Leonis divina providentia Papae XIII ad Patriarchas Primates Archiepiscopos Episcopos aliosque locorum ordinarios De unitate Ecclesiae”, *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 28 (1895-1896), 708-739, commonly called *Satis cognitum* after its opening words. For background, see M. Lacey, “Leo’s Church and Our Own”, M. Lacey, F. Oakley (eds.), *The Crisis of Authority in Catholic Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 56-92, esp. 71-75.

<sup>840</sup> Leo XIII, “Satis cognitum”, 717, no. 8. In the English translation on [www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va), the text is part of the subsection entitled “the Magisterium (or Teaching Authority) of the Church to Be Perpetual”.

<sup>841</sup> Called “hiérarchiologie” by Congar. Cf. Congar, “L’ecclésiologie de la Révolution Française au Concile du Vatican, sous le signe de l’affirmation de l’autorité”, 113: “L’ecclésiologie des manuels a suivi la même ligne: elle s’est largement contentée d’être un exposé, en bonne partie apologetique et polémique, des structures constitutionnelles de l’église, désormais dominé par la thèse de la primauté papale, c’est-à-dire d’être une «hiérarchiologie»”. The term hierarchiologie dates back to his “Bulletin d’Écclesiologie (1939-1946)”, *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 31 (1947), 77-96.

<sup>842</sup> Congar, *Je crois en l’Esprit Saint*, vol. 1, chapter “Le Saint-Esprit: sa place dans le Catholicisme de la Contre-Réforme et de la Restauration post-révolutionnaire”, 207-217, 216. Congar mentioned Cardinal Edward Manning (1808-1892) as a typical example; Manning’s first pneumatological book dealt with the Holy Spirit’s “temporal mission” in the hierarchy, and the second with his “internal mission” in the faithful. For an elaboration of Congar’s contribution to overcoming this separation, see E. Groppe, “The Contribution of Yves Congar’s Theology of the Holy Spirit”, *Theological Studies* 62 (2001), 451-478, cf. E. Groppe, *Yves Congar’s Theology of the Holy Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); J. Famerée, G. Routhier, *Yves Congar* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2008), esp. chapter V, “Christologie, pneumatologie et théologie trinitaire”, 149-173.

<sup>843</sup> Leo XIII, “Epistola encyclica sanctissimi D.N. Leonis PP. XIII de praesentia et virtute mirifica Spiritus Sancti”, *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 29 (1896-1897), 644-658, commonly called *Divinum illud* after its opening words. English text online on [http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_enc\\_09051897\\_divinum-illud-munus.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_09051897_divinum-illud-munus.html).

just”.<sup>844</sup> Referring to Acts 19:2, where Paul meets Christians who have not yet heard of the Holy Spirit, Pope Leo pointed out that today “many fail very much in their knowledge of Him”. He therefore exhorted pastors and preachers to instruct their people more diligently and more fully about the Holy Spirit.<sup>845</sup> Leo XIII’s letter, especially this complaint about the oblivion of the Holy Spirit and the adhortation that went with it are surprising. For his own earlier encyclical *Satis cognitum* featured relatively little references to the Spirit, so that Leo XIII did not practise what he preached.<sup>846</sup>

This type of hierarchy-centered ecclesiological pneumatology continued in the twentieth century. In his 1943 encyclical *Mystici corporis*, Pius XII too mentioned the Holy Spirit especially in relation to the hierarchy, for example in his explanation of the founding of the Church by Christ. He explained that, after the preparation for the founding of the Church and its actual founding at the cross, the Church was manifested and proclaimed on the day of Pentecost. In this account of the founding of the Church and the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, only the hierarchy was mentioned: “The Divine Redeemer began the building of the mystical temple of the Church when by his preaching He made known his precepts; He completed it when He hung glorified on the cross; and He manifested and proclaimed it when He sent the Holy Spirit as Paraclete in visible form on his disciples”.<sup>847</sup>

Precisely this hierarchical focus was challenged when in the 1950s, inspired by various types of theological renewal, some theologians started to speak about charisms. In 1958, the German theologian Michael Schmaus, author of the pre-conciliar manual *Katholische Dogmatik*, called this a “second way” in which the Holy Spirit works in the Church:

So sehr der Heilige Geist durch die kirchliche Autorität, die Apostel und ihre Nachfolger, wirkt, so wirkt er doch noch auf einem zweiten Wege, nämlich auf dem Wege der Charismen. Sie werden vom Heiligen Geist auch jenen Gliedern des Leibes Christi verliehen welche nicht als Nachfolger der Apostel und daher nicht als Traeger hierarchischer Gewalt bezeichnet werden können.<sup>848</sup>

---

<sup>844</sup> Leo XIII, “Divinum illud”, no. 4, cf. full sentence, “Therefore, by the conspicuous apparition of the Holy Ghost over Christ and by his invisible power in his soul, the twofold mission of the Spirit is foreshadowed, namely, his outward and visible mission in the Church, and his secret indwelling in the souls of the just”. The former is elaborated in no. 5-6, the latter in no. 7-9.

<sup>845</sup> Leo XIII, “Divinum illud”, no. 10. Cf. the Latin text: “Sin minus, multi certe in eius cognitione valde deficiunt”. In the opening article no. 2, he had also mentioned his old age as a reason for writing this encyclical; he dedicated his work hitherto to the Holy Spirit, “that He may bring it to maturity and fruitfulness”.

<sup>846</sup> Leo XIII, “Divinum illud”, no. 5-6.

<sup>847</sup> MC 30. Disciples means in this case apostles, cf. the clarification that follows in MC 32, stating that “dum Apostoli sacrum concionandi officium inituri erant, Christus Dominus suum e caelo dimisit Spiritum, qui eosdem per flammeas attingens”.

<sup>848</sup> M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, vol. III.1 (München: Hüber, 1958) at 362. Before the Council, Schmaus’s *Dogmatik* was one of the most reprinted manuals and was often regarded as more up-to-date than the older one by Scheeben; first issued from 1938 onwards, it was constantly revised.

This obviously challenged the hierarchy-centered pneumatology of that time. Earlier, in a 1952 essay about *Le Saint-Esprit et le corps apostolique, réalisateurs de l'œuvre du Christ*, Congar had boldly stated that the Holy Spirit had “some sort of autonomy” in relation to ecclesial institutions.

Si elle vise toujours la construction de l'Église comme communauté des croyants ou des hommes sauvés, l'action du Saint-Esprit ne nous apparaît pas toujours liée aux moyens institutionnels; elle semble garder une sorte d'autonomie qui se manifeste principalement en deux séries de faits: les charismes et les irrptions soudaines ou les conduites imprévisibles de l'Esprit.<sup>849</sup>

Quick to add that there is no opposition between charisms and hierarchy, and that people with charisms should hold the faith and obey hierarchical authority, he concluded that, nonetheless, “il reste que les charismes, un grand nombre d'entre eux du moins, ne viennent pas des opérations hiérarchiques. Ils ne sont pas sans rapport avec le ministère hiérarchique et doivent se soumettre à lui pour être recevables dans l'Église en vue de l'édification du Corps du Christ; pourtant ils ne viennent pas du ministère apostolique, mais de l'Esprit”.<sup>850</sup>

In his famous 1956 essay on charisms *Das Charismatische in der Kirche*, Rahner drew the final consequence of what Congar called the freedom of the Spirit.<sup>851</sup> Rahner agreed with Congar and Schmaus on the pneumatological and therefore hierarchy-independent roots of charisms: “Denn es gibt Charisma, d.h. Impuls und Leitung des Geistes Gottes für die Kirche auch neben und außerhalb des Amtes”.<sup>852</sup> In addition, articles on “Der notwendige Antagonismus in der Kirche” and “Das Leid des Charismas” showed that Rahner was aware of the tensions that charisms may cause.<sup>853</sup> Yet for Rahner,

---

<sup>849</sup> Y. Congar, “Le Saint-Esprit et le Corps apostolique, réalisateurs de l'œuvre du Christ”, Y. Congar, *Esquisses du mystère de l'Église*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Le Cerf, 1953), 129-179, 164. First published in *Revue de Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 36 (1952), 613-625. The article is new in the second edition of the *Esquisses*, for as the *Avertissement* at page 10 states: “Il nous a paru que ces appendices (that have been left out in this second edition, JM) n'avaient plus le même intérêt d'actualité qu'en 1940 (year of the first edition); nous les avons remplacés par une étude plus récente sur *Le Saint-Esprit et le Corps apostolique, réalisateurs de l'œuvre du Christ*”. Cf. the reference to the “indépendance totale de l'Esprit Saint” in the context of ministry by Lukas Vischer during the discussions with the observers, CSVII, Philips Archive, no. 1051, 1. Vischer (1926-2008), a protestant from Switzerland, was an observer on behalf of the World Council of Churches; his doctoral dissertation had been on Basil the Great. See M. Hardt, “Vischer, Lukas”, Ernesti, Thönnissen (eds.), *Personenlexikon Ökumene*, 230-232.

<sup>850</sup> Congar, “Le Saint-Esprit et le Corps apostolique”, 166. Some thirty years later, Congar “revised” his position in this regard, see Congar, *Je crois en l'Esprit Saint*, vol. 2, 23-24, and Congar, *La Parole et le Souffle*, 105-108.

<sup>851</sup> K. Rahner, “Das Charismatische in der Kirche”, K. Rahner, *Das Dynamische in der Kirche* (Freiburg: Herder, 1958), 37-73. First published in *Stimmen der Zeit* 160 (1956/57), 161-186, also in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 10, 343-367. I will use the text in *Das Dynamische*.

<sup>852</sup> Rahner, “Das Charismatische in der Kirche”, 44.

<sup>853</sup> Rahner, “Das Charismatische in der Kirche”, 65-72.

more was at stake. Church office itself needed to be reconceived as charismatic or *überamtlich*, that is, as rooting in something beyond the institutional and juridical.<sup>854</sup> Thus Rahner radically reformulated both ecclesiology and pneumatology. We have seen that the issue of the Spirit, hierarchy and charisms played a role in the redaction-history of *Lumen gentium* (see chapter 5.4, sentence 4).

### 8.3 Soul of the Church

Another important topic of preconciliar pneumatology is the Holy Spirit as principle of life in the Church. The concept was used in twentieth century ecclesiology to articulate the Church's transcendent dimension, both in the form of the supernatural gifts and graces given by Christ to the faithful and in the form of the unifying principle of the Church. Thus the concept helped to conceive the Church theologically instead of institutionally, yet it raised the question that I noted earlier (in chapter 2.3), namely if structure or theology was to have priority. In his reflection on the mystical nature of the Church in *Mystici corporis*, Pius XII explained that, although the Church and other organisations share various characteristics, the Holy Spirit makes the Church beyond compare.

For in a moral body the only principle of unity is a common end, and a common aspiration of all to that end by means of the social authority. But in the Mystical Body, with which we are concerned, there is in addition to this common aspiration another internal principle (...) and this principle is of such surpassing excellence that by itself it immeasurably transcends all the bonds of unity by which any physical or moral body is knit together: (...) the divine Spirit (MC 60).

That principle, which had earlier been specified to be the Church's soul (MC 55), is later specified to work together and complement the Church's hierarchical dimension (MC 63). Yet while in the chapter on the mystical nature of the Church that articles MC 60 and 63 belong to the concept of the soul is used in an apologetical, institution-dominated manner, *Mystici corporis'* chapter on Christ's sustaining role in the Church features another, more theological understanding of the Spirit as principle of the Church. Having explained that "there can be no salutary act which does not proceed from Him (Christ, JM) as from its supernatural source" (MC 49), Pius XII stated something similar about the Holy Spirit: "He (the Holy Spirit, JM), with (or by) his heavenly breath is the source from which proceeds every single vital and effectively salutary action in all the parts of the body" (MC 55). In these quotes, Pius XII articulated a less institution-bound dynamic involvement of the Spirit in the Church, that echoes

---

<sup>854</sup> Rahner, "Das Charismatische in der Kirche", 40. Here, "das Charismatische" functions as a synonym for "das "Überamtliche". Cf. "Insofern ist das Amt in der Kirche selbst etwas Charismatisches, wenn wir unter dem Charismatischen etwas verstehen, was einen Gegensatz zu dem bloß Institutionellen, vom Menschen Verwaltbaren, Berechenbaren, in Gesetzen und Normen Faßbaren bedeutet", 39.



the *Tübinger Schule* and particularly Möhler's first, Spirit-centered ecclesiology *Die Einheit der Kirche* (1825).<sup>855</sup>

Although the notion of the Spirit as soul was quite common in magisterial ecclesiology, it was not a standard element of ecclesiological reflection.<sup>856</sup> The christocentric focus of mystical body theology meant that the Spirit was easily overlooked and that, moreover, the work of the Spirit as soul of the Church overlapped with the work that Christ as head had already been said to undertake. In addition, the apologetics-inspired concern for the hierarchical dimension of the Church often in fact limited the concept's theological potential. The argument for the Church's unique, transcendent reality was not integrated with the plea for her visible reality. Nor was the concept welcomed by all. In his 1945 ecclesiology Philips cautiously criticized it, calling it "not an enrichment" and arguing that it would be wrong to distinguish the body and its external characteristics from the soul and the interior gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>857</sup> Otherwise put, the institutional element and the mysterious element cannot be separated from one another. In a 1965 article, the Irish theologian Kevin McNamara noted another fundamental weakness of the view of the Spirit as soul of the Church, namely that it has no connection to the Spirit's role in salvation history. "The concept of the soul of the Church (...) does not evoke the gradually unfolding divine plan which culminates in the sending of the Spirit as the fruit of Christ's Passion and Resurrection".<sup>858</sup> *Lumen gentium* does feature the concept of soul of the Church, yet it plays a role in the margins.

## 8.4 Indwelling, Sanctification, Appropriation

A final important pneumatological topic in the first half of the twentieth century was God's indwelling in the individual faithful. As we heard Congar summarize, pneumatology was typically conceived on the one hand in relation to the hierarchy for the upbuilding of the Church and on the other hand in relation to the faithful, in whom the Spirit was said to dwell and whom the Spirit was said to sanctify.

The details of the Spirit's indwelling were however hotly debated, with the help of technical terms such as created and uncreated grace, *proprium* and quasi-formal and formal causality.<sup>859</sup> Who were indwelling: Christ, the Spirit or the Trinity? And if the Spirit was indwelling, was this a matter of

---

<sup>855</sup> For background, see Dockx, "Esprit Saint, âme de l'Église".

<sup>856</sup> Cf. Dockx: "On pourrait croire que la doctrine du corps mystique du Christ devait suggérer immédiatement la doctrine du Saint-Esprit, âme de l'Église. Mais il n'en a pas été ainsi". He refers to Mersch as an example. Dockx, "Esprit Saint, âme de l'Église", 66-67.

<sup>857</sup> Philips, *De heilige Kerk*, 176-177, cf. 176-183.

<sup>858</sup> K. McNamara, "The Holy Spirit in the Church", *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 32 (1965), 281-294, 284-285.

<sup>859</sup> Philips took part in the debate, see his review essay G. Philips, "Le Saint Esprit en nous. À propos d'un livre récent", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* XXIV (1948), 127-135.

appropriation, that is, attributing to the Spirit what in fact is common to the Trinity, or was it the Spirit's proper role or *proprium*?<sup>860</sup>

The significance of the technical discussion is very apparent in an article on uncreated grace by Rahner from 1939.<sup>861</sup> For according to Rahner, the notion of appropriation risked to weaken rather than to protect the doctrine of the Trinity. In so far as it suggested that the three divine persons had no concrete impact on the Christian life, it could even bring us back to a “pre-Christian monotheism”:

Man darf überdies nicht vergessen, daß eine Abschwächung der «heilsökonomischen Trinität» zu einem gewissermaßen vorchristlichen Monotheismus (und darauf kommt eigentlich die Lehre von den bloßen Appropriationen in der Gnadenlehre hinaus) nicht nur die Bedeutung der heiligsten Trinität im konkreten religiösen Leben trotz aller Gegenanstrengungen in der Geschichte der abenländischen Frömmigkeit verringert hat, sonder an sich (...) auch die «innere Trinität» in Gott zugunsten eines rationalistischen Monotheismus gefährden könnte.<sup>862</sup>

In his 1960 essay on the theology of the Trinity that is usually considered to be the starting point of the later “renaissance” of trinitarian theology,<sup>863</sup> Rahner emphatically repeated this view and developed from it his plea for a trinitarian style of doing theology.<sup>864</sup> In these discussions, in spite of the impression of an abstract scholastic fight, something real was at stake. As the German theologian Wilhelm Breuning formulated in 1970 in an overview of twentieth-century theology, “Es wäre

---

<sup>860</sup> The literature is overwhelming. For overview works, see Heribert Schaaf's 1941 study on the discussion of a proper indwelling in the theology of the Roman School of the late nineteenth century, in which he showed that both the discussion on indwelling, the reflection on uncreated grace and the concept of quasi-formal causality go back to the late sixteenth century apologetics. H. Schaaf, *Die Einwohnung des Heiligen Geistes : die Lehre von der nichtappropriierten Einwohnung des Heiligen Geistes als Beitrag zur Theologiegeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der beiden Theologen Carl Passaglia und Clemens Schrader* (Freiburg: Herder, 1941); J. Trütsch, *SS. Trinitatis inhabitatio apud theologos recentiores* (Trento: Tipografia editrice mutulati e invalidi, 1949); E. Haible, “Die Einwohnung der drei göttlichen Personen im Christen nach den Ergebnissen der neueren Theologie”, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 139 (1959), 1-27. For a summary and constructive interpretation, see e.g. R. DelColle, *Christ and the Spirit. Spirit-Christology in Trinitarian Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 64-90.

<sup>861</sup> K. Rahner, “Zur scholastischen Begrifflichkeit der ungeschaffenen Gnade”, K. Rahner, *Schriften zur Theologie*, vol. I (Einsiedeln: Benzinger, 1954), 347-375. Originally published in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 63 (1939), 137-156.

<sup>862</sup> Rahner, “Zur scholastischen Begrifflichkeit der ungeschaffenen Gnade”, 374-375.

<sup>863</sup> E.g. H. Rikhof, “The Current Renaissance of the Theology of the Trinity. A Reconstruction”, *Bijdragen. International Journal in Philosophy and Theology* 70 (2009), 423-457.

<sup>864</sup> K. Rahner, “Bemerkungen zum dogmatischen Traktat «de Trinitate»”, *Schriften zur Theologie*, vol. IV (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), 103-133, see especially his remarks on “antitrinitarische Ängstlichkeit” in relation to appropriation, 108. Originally published in L. Lenhart (ed.), *Universitas. Dienst an Wahrheit und Leben. Festschrift für Bischof Dr. Albert Stohr* (Mainz: Grünewald, 1960), 130-150; elaborated for *Mysterium Salutis*, cf. *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 22/1B (Freiburg: Herder, 2013), 513-574. I will use the text from *Schriften*.

bedauerlich, in diesem Ringen (on appropriation, indwelling and grace, JM) eine abstruse scholastische Streiterei zu sehen (...). Immerhin ist hier mit Hilfe und in Auseinandersetzung mit der scholastischen Begrifflichkeit erkannt worden, daß der Eigenart der göttlichen Personen auch ihre Tätigkeit im Heilswerk entspricht”.<sup>865</sup>

As we have seen in the exploration of *Lumen gentium* 4 in chapter five, indwelling was listed as one of the Spirit’s activities, related to the sanctification-related topics of prayer and giving testimony of divine childhood. Moreover, we have seen that, more generally, appropriation remained an issue of contention during the Council.

This brief overview of four major pneumatological themes in the decades prior to the Council and their development will help me to evaluate the findings of the detailed comparison between *Mystici corporis* and *Lumen gentium*. In order to make that comparison, I now turn to *Mystici corporis*.

---

<sup>865</sup> W. Breuning, “Pneumatologie”, 122.

## Chapter 9

# The Holy Spirit According to *Mystici Corporis*

### 9.1 Methodological Introduction

This chapter explores the pneumatology of the 1943 encyclical on the Church as mystical body *Mystici corporis* by means of close reading. *Mystici corporis* consists of one hundred and twelve articles divided over three major parts, some of which feature various chapters. The first part, comprising half of the document (MC 11-66) is on the Church as the mystical body. After a “preamble” which introduces the definition of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, the various parts of that definition are elaborated: the Church as body (1.1), the Church as body of Christ (1.2) and the Church as mystical body (1.3). The second part covers MC 67-89; it is on union with Christ and discusses the nature of that union (2.1) and errors related to it (2.2). Finally, a third part exhorts to loving the Church (MC 90-108), followed by a final exhortation, an epilogue and the apostolic benediction.

As with *Lumen gentium*, the encyclical’s pneumatology does not stand on its own but is part of a magisterial reflection on ecclesiology. However, since the document’s ecclesiology has been introduced in more detail in chapter 2.3, this chapter focuses on pneumatology. How does *Mystici corporis* conceive of the Holy Spirit? In order to answer that question, I will follow the same method as in the exploration of *Lumen gentium*.<sup>866</sup> Focusing on explicit references to the Holy Spirit and distinguishing between references and propositions, I will first explore the place of the Spirit in the structure of the text (chapter 9.1), then investigate the pneumatological content of the text (chapter 9.2), to conclude with an analysis of the Spirit-propositions from an argumentative point of view (chapter 9.3).

What complicates both the analysis in this chapter and the comparison with *Lumen gentium* is the fact that, different from *Lumen gentium*, the official rendering of the text in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* has neither chapters nor article numbers. Moreover, differences appear in the various editions that do have chapters and article numbers: the English translation by canon Smith from 1951, the rendering of the text by Tromp from 1958, and the English version on the Vatican website. Given the difficulty to analyse the document without a division in parts, chapters and articles, I have added them according to the structure and article numbers proposed by canon Smith. For in the case of the chapter

---

<sup>866</sup> See methodological introduction in chapter 3.1.

on the *errores*, that covers articles MC 84-89, Tromp's structure differs from what the text itself suggests. Tromp places this chapter in Part III, which he entitles "Pastoral adhortation", but *Mystici corporis* itself reveals that the third part starts only later, when Pius XII changes role – from teacher to pastor – and when the subject changes – from unity with Christ to loving the Church. For, as MC 90 reads: "Having now, venerable brethren, expounded this mystery of our intimate union with Christ (part II, JM) and so, in our quality of teacher of the universal Church, illuminated men's minds with the light of truth, we deem it our pastoral duty also to arouse in their hearts an ardent charity towards this mystical body".<sup>867</sup> Moreover, the translation on the website of the Vatican contains only article numbers, without structuring these in parts and chapters. In addition Smith's distinction of articles is often more in line with what the text itself suggests than the article numbers on the Vatican website.

A final introductory remark is on the words I focus on in this chapter. When *Mystici corporis* refers to the Spirit, it uses mostly the word *Spiritus* and occasionally the word *Paraclitus*.<sup>868</sup> Incidentally the Spirit is referred to differently, e.g. as "a special power from heaven" (MC 32), "breath of grace and truth" (MC 54), or "Him who is breathed by the Father and the Son with one eternal love" (MC 68).<sup>869</sup> As I explained in the methodological considerations in chapter 4.1, I will focus in each case on propositions rather than references and also take in consideration implicit propositions.

## 9.2 Structural Analysis

On the basis of the presupposition that the structure of the text is in itself revealing something, in this section my research will remain on the surface of the text. I analyse the place of the Spirit-propositions in the general structure of *Mystici corporis* at large, in its chapters and articles, and on the more detailed level of sentences. At what places in the document does *Mystici corporis* mention the Holy Spirit, and how many times? Where does it concentrate its pneumatological reflection? What clauses

---

<sup>867</sup> English quotations from *Mystici corporis* are based on canon Smith's translation, that I will adapt when a more literal translation is required.

<sup>868</sup> See MC 25 (Paraclitum Spiritum); MC 30 (Paracliti, 2x); MC 54 (Paraclitum Spiritum); MC 63 (Paraclito Spiritu); MC 69 (Paraclitum veritatis Spiritum); MC 79 (Divino Paraclito).

<sup>869</sup> Cf. the Latin texts, "Ecclesiam Pentecostes die peculiari virtute, caelitus delapsa, roboravit" (MC 32); "Hoc enim gratiae veritatisque Flamine Filius Dei in ipso intaminato Virginis sinu animam suam ornavit" (MC 54); "(...) ex illius virtute, qui a Patre Filioque uno aeternoque efflatur amore" (MC 68). I also interpret the following two texts pneumatologically: "their divine source (*divino fonte*)" (MC 61). It is not clear if the opening words of MC 56, *vitalem illam vim virtutemque, qua tota Christianorum communitas a Conditore suo sustentatur*, refer to the Holy Spirit. What pleads for such an interpretation is the fact that "this vital force and power" refers back to articles MC 54-55, in which the Holy Spirit was the main topic. Yet the fact that, according to the sentence, "this power and strength" is also said to consist in gifts given by "Christ, together with the Spirit" casts doubt on this interpretation.

are used, main clauses or subclauses, and what is their proportion? The question that arises then is, what conclusions can be drawn?

### **9.2.1 Parts, Chapters, and Articles**

Figure thirty-four on the next page gives an overview of the Spirit-propositions in *Mystici corporis*. The dark grey bar at the top lists the total number of articles, the total number of Spirit-propositions for the document as a whole and the average number of propositions per section. The lighter grey bars indicate the number of articles and the number of Spirit-propositions per chapter. The white bars indicate the number of propositions per section.

<i>Mystici corporis</i>										112	128	1.1
<b>Introduction</b>										11	5	0.5
MC 1	MC 2	MC 3	MC 4	MC 5	MC 6	MC 7	MC 8	MC 9	MC 10	MC 11		
2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		
<b>Part I. The Church: Mystical Body of Christ</b>										55	85	1.5
<i>Preamble</i>										2	1	0.5
MC 12	MC 13											
1	0											
<i>1.1 Body</i>										10	7	0.7
MC 14	MC 15	MC 16	MC 17	MC 18	MC 19	MC 20	MC 21	MC 22	MC 23			
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0			
<i>1.2 Body of Christ</i>										34	56	1.6
MC 24	MC 25	MC 26	MC 27	MC 28	MC 29	MC 30	MC 31	MC 32	MC 33	MC 34	MC 35	
0	2	0	0	0	0	9	0	9	0	0	0	
MC 36	MC 37	MC 38	MC 39	MC 40	MC 41	MC 42	MC 43	MC 44	MC 45	MC 46	MC 47	
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
MC 48	MC 49	MC 50	MC 51	MC 52	MC 53	MC 54	MC 55	MC 56	MC 57			
0	0	0	0	0	0	14	17	2	0			
<i>1.3 Mystical Body of Christ</i>										9	21	2.3
MC 58	MC 59	MC 60	MC 61	MC 62	MC 63	MC 64	MC 65	MC 66				
0	2	7	5	0	7	0	0	0				
<b>Part II. Union with Christ</b>										23	30	1.3
<i>2.1 The Nature of Our Union</i>										17	23	1.4
MC 67	MC 68	MC 69	MC 70	MC 71	MC 72	MC 73	MC 74	MC 75	MC 76	MC 77	MC 78	
0	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	2	
MC 79	MC 80	MC 81	MC 82	MC 83								
3	0	0	3	0								
<i>2.2 Errors</i>										6	7	1.2
MC 84	MC 85	MC 86	MC 87	MC 88	MC 89							
0	0	4	3	0	0							
<b>Part III. Exhortation to Love</b>										20	5	0.3
MC 90	MC 91	MC 92	MC 93	MC 94	MC 95	MC 96	MC 97	MC 98	MC 99	MC 100	MC 101	
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
MC 102	MC 103	MC 104	MC 105	MC 106	MC 107	MC 108	MC 109					
1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0					
<b>Concluding Articles</b>										3	3	1
MC 110	MC 111	MC 112										
3	0	0										

**Figure 34.** The division of Spirit-propositions in absolute and relative terms over *Mystici corporis*.

The figure hereabove offers information at four levels. Firstly, the dark grey bar at the top indicates the number of articles in *Mystici corporis*, the number of Spirit-propositions in absolute number and the average number of propositions per section. It shows that the document as a whole features one hundred and twenty-eight Spirit-propositions, divided over one hundred and twelve articles, an average of slightly more than one reference per section.

Secondly, the lighter grey bars indicate the number of articles and the number of Spirit-propositions per part. It reveals that there are considerable differences between the parts. While Part I features eighty-five propositions, Part II contains thirty Spirit-propositions, and Part III only eight. As the chapters are unequal in length, the relative number per article in these parts is a more meaningful figure. From that perspective, Parts I and II feature a much higher relative number per article – 1.5 and 1.3 – than the introduction and the third part, with an average of 0.5 and 0.3.

Thirdly, Parts I and II are subdivided into chapters. At the level of chapters, the long chapter on the body of Christ (1.2) stands out in absolute terms, with fifty-six propositions. In relative terms, the difference between the chapter on the body (1.1) and the chapter on the mystical body (1.3) stands out, the former having a relatively small number of 0.7 Spirit-propositions, and the latter with the highest relative number of Spirit-propositions, namely 2.3.

Fourthly, figure thirty-four reveals that the number of propositions per article differs considerably. Some articles feature many propositions, and others have none. Eight articles stand out for their high number of Spirit references. Articles MC 54 and MC 55, reflecting on the Holy Spirit, the “divine principle of life and power”, make fourteen and seventeen Spirit-propositions. Six other articles feature five propositions or more. These include articles MC 30 and MC 32, in which the encyclical ponders on the significance of Christ’s cross and Pentecost, each with nine propositions, and articles MC 60 and MC 61, in which *Mystici corporis* reflects on the unique excellence of the mystical body because of its divine principle of unity, the Holy Spirit. Finally, article MC 63 dwells on the – deplored – contrast between a Church of love and a juridical Church and article MC 76 explains Christ’s indwelling in a pneumatological manner. Together, these eight articles represent seventy-three Spirit-propositions, which is almost two-thirds of all the Spirit-propositions in *Mystici corporis*.

The contrast between these articles and the other ones is striking. For two-thirds of the articles – seventy-six out of one hundred and twelve – have no reference to the Spirit. Or, when these articles do feature Spirit-propositions, the number of these is more modest: mostly one, two or three. In addition, the text contains various series of articles with no Spirit-propositions, e.g. MC 14-20 (chapter 1.1), MC 33-39 (chapter 1.2) and MC 92-101 (Part III).

Although for a proper evaluation of these facts, more information about the content of the pneumatological propositions is needed, some first conclusions can be drawn. In the first place, these figures show that the Holy Spirit is clearly not forgotten. In the second place, *Mystici corporis*’ attention for the Holy Spirit appears to be unevenly divided. The document tends to concentrate its references to the Spirit in a few articles. The contrast between articles without and with Spirit-propositions is especially apparent in the chapter on the body of Christ. While the lengthy reflection on Christ as head of the Church in articles MC 33-49 features no references to the Holy Spirit, the following reflection on Christ as sustainer in MC 50-56 is developed with thirty-two Spirit propositions; yet these two aspects are intimately related, as we saw in the discussion of the document’s structure in chapter 3.3.



What then is the meaning of these figures? Do some topics demand an intensive pneumatological consideration, and others not? That could be a valid explanation for the low number of Spirit-propositions in the introduction and the pastoral exhortation in Part III. However, the case of chapter 1.2 suggests that in other cases that interpretation does not work. For precisely the fact that the encyclical itself explained that the topics of Christ the head and Christ the sustainer were more or less overlapping – as we noted in chapter 3.3 – makes it unconvincing that one cluster of articles does and another does not refer to the Holy Spirit. Could the encyclical’s Christomonistic tendency be a more probable explanation? The high number of Spirit-propositions in chapter 1.3 suggests still another possible interpretation, namely an apologetical agenda. For in this chapter, the Spirit-propositions help to build the case that the Church has a unique principle of unity, that is beyond that of other organizations. Further exploration of the content of the text should specify this preliminary evaluation.

### 9.2.2 Main Clauses and Subclauses

At the lower level of sentences, a similar structural analysis can be conducted. Does *Mystici corporis*’ pneumatology situate itself mainly at the level of main clauses or subclauses? When MC 54 explains that “Christ, breathing Him (the Spirit, JM) upon the apostles, bestowed Him (the Spirit, JM) upon the Church for the remission of sins”, the first Spirit-proposition is part of a subclause, while the second one is part of a main clause.<sup>870</sup> The significance of exploring clauses lies in the fact that the text’s main message is usually given in the main clause and further qualified in subclauses. Once again, the objective is to get an impression of the place of pneumatology in *Mystici corporis*.

Figure thirty-five on the next page gives an overview of the division of Spirit-propositions over main clauses (m) and subclauses (s) for the document as a whole, its parts and its chapters, and each of its articles. The dark grey bar indicates the total number of Spirit-propositions, namely one hundred and twenty-eight, and how these are divided over main clauses and subclauses. The lighter grey bars indicate the total number of Spirit-propositions per chapter and the number featuring in main clauses and subclauses. The white bars indicate the number of main clause proposition and subclause propositions per section.

---

<sup>870</sup> Cf. Latin text, “hunc denique super Apostolos efflans, Ecclesiae ad peccata remittenda largitus est (cfr. Io. 20, 22)”. For more extensive methodological considerations, see chapter 3.2.2.

<b>Mystici corporis</b>											<b>128</b>	<b>35 / 93</b>
<b>Introduction</b>											<b>5</b>	<b>1 / 4</b>
MC 1	MC 2	MC 3	MC 4	MC 5	MC 6	MC 7	MC 8	MC 9	MC 10	MC 11		
1 m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
1 s	-	-	2 s	-	-	1 s	-	-	-	-		
<b>Part I. The Church: Mystical Body of Christ</b>											<b>85</b>	<b>28 / 57</b>
<b>Preamble</b>											<b>1</b>	<b>0 / 1</b>
MC 12	MC 13											
-	-											
1 s	-											
<b>1.1 Body</b>											<b>7</b>	<b>2 / 5</b>
MC 14	MC 15	MC 16	MC 17	MC 18	MC 19	MC 20	MC 21	MC 22	MC 23			
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 m	-	-			
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 s	4 s	-			
<b>1.2 Body of Christ</b>											<b>56</b>	<b>22 / 34</b>
MC 24	MC 25	MC 26	MC 27	MC 28	MC 29	MC 30	MC 31	MC 32	MC 33	MC 34	MC 35	
-	1 m	-	-	-	-	2 m	-	3 m	-	-	-	
-	1 s	-	-	-	-	7 s	-	6 s	-	-	-	
MC 36	MC 37	MC 38	MC 39	MC 40	MC 41	MC 42	MC 43	MC 44	MC 45	MC 46	MC 47	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 m	-	
-	-	-	-	1 s	-	-	-	-	-	1 s	-	
MC 48	MC 49	MC 50	MC 51	MC 52	MC 53	MC 54	MC 55	MC 56	MC 57			
-	-	-	-	-	-	7 m	8 m	-	-			
-	-	-	-	-	-	7 s	9 s	2 s	-			
<b>1.3 Mystical Body of Christ</b>											<b>21</b>	<b>4 / 17</b>
MC 58	MC 59	MC 60	MC 61	MC 62	MC 63	MC 64	MC 65	MC 66				
-	1 m	1 m	1 m	-	1 m	-	-	-				
-	1 s	6 s	4 s	-	5 s	-	-	-				
<b>Part II. Union with Christ</b>											<b>30</b>	<b>6 / 24</b>
<b>2.1 The Nature of Our Union</b>											<b>23</b>	<b>5 / 18</b>
MC 67	MC 68	MC 69	MC 70	MC 71	MC 72	MC 73	MC 74	MC 75	MC 76	MC 77	MC 78	
-	2 m	-	-	1 m	-	-	-	-	1 m	1 m	-	
-	2 s	3 s	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 s	1 s	2 s	
MC 79	MC 80	MC 81	MC 82	MC 83								
-	-	-	-	-								
3 s	-	-	3 s	-								
<b>2.2 Errors</b>											<b>7</b>	<b>1 / 6</b>
MC 84	MC 85	MC 86	MC 87	MC 88	MC 89							
-	-	1 m	-	-	-							
-	-	3 s	3 s	-	-							
<b>Part III. Exhortation to Love</b>											<b>5</b>	<b>0 / 5</b>
MC 90	MC 91	MC 92	MC 93	MC 94	MC 95	MC 96	MC 97	MC 98	MC 99	MC 100	MC 101	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1 s	1 s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
MC 102	MC 103	MC 104	MC 105	MC 106	MC 107	MC 108	MC 109					
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
1 s	1 s	1 s	-	-	-	-	-					
<b>Concluding Articles</b>											<b>3</b>	<b>0 / 3</b>
MC 110	MC 111	MC 112										
-	-	-										
3 s	-	-										

**Figure 35.** Main clause and subclause Spirit-propositions in *Mystici corporis*.

In the first place, figure 35 shows that for the document as a whole, Spirit-propositions are more than twice as often part of the subclause. Thirty-five Spirit-propositions are part of a main clause over against ninety-three in subclauses, or 27% over against 73%.

In the second place, it shows that there are no parts or chapters with a majority of main clause Spirit-propositions. The chapter on the body of Christ (1.2) has a relatively high number of main clause propositions, namely 39%. By contrast, the chapter on error (2.2) and in the exhortatory Part III have (almost) exclusively subclause propositions.

Finally, it reveals that articles MC 54 and 55 stand out, with an (almost) equal number of main clause and subclause Spirit-propositions. That is also true for MC 68, although in this case the total number of Spirit-propositions is limited to four.

What do these figures mean? With the *caveat* that more research is needed for a proper interpretation, some preliminary and tentative conclusions may be drawn. In the first place, the high number of subordinate clauses depends in some cases on the logic of the Latin grammar in combination with the specific style adopted by the author. When MC 30 states that “Tunc (...) enim factum est, ut ros charismatum Paracliti (...) Catholicam scilicet Ecclesiam irrigaret”, it mentions the Holy Spirit in a subclause. If the phrase had been formulated differently, without the detour *factum est ut*, the reference to the Spirit would have been part of the main clause: “Tunc ros charismatum Paracliti Catholicam Ecclesiam irrigaret”.<sup>871</sup>

Another explanation for the dominating pattern that the Spirit is referred to in subclauses rather than main clauses may be the document’s christocentric and Church-focused mindset. In so far as main clauses usually introduce the core of what is being communicated and subclauses further develop and qualify that core, the place of the Spirit-propositions may indicate that the Spirit is not of primary importance but rather has a supporting significance. Possibly, the high number of main clause propositions in MC 54-55 confirms this interpretation, for precisely in these articles, the Spirit holds an important place. Nonetheless, this interpretation needs to be checked by further exploration of the content of the document’s pneumatology.

## Intermediary Conclusion

These findings provide a first impression of how *Mystici corporis* conceives the Holy Spirit. The average number of 1.1 Spirit-propositions per article proves that the Spirit is everything but forgotten. The way these references are divided is uneven: most articles have few or no Spirit-propositions, yet with a remarkable peak of Spirit-propositions in some articles. Further, the high relative number of 73% subclauses suggests that *Mystici corporis* tends to make Spirit-propositions to qualify the issue

---

<sup>871</sup> For similar cases, see e.g. MC 61, “ubi cum spiritualibus donis comparatur (...) eorumque divino fonte”; the opening phrase in MC 78; MC 79’s reference to Leo XIII’s statement on the Spirit. The repeated “Ille est qui ...” phrases in MC 54 and MC 55 I have interpreted as main clauses.

under consideration rather than to develop the essence of those issues, with MC 54-55 as remarkable exception to the predominant pattern of referring to the Spirit in subclauses.

I have ventured various possible explanations for this, notably that *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology may be determined by a christocentric framework and an apologetical agenda. The analysis of the theological content of *Mystici corporis*' Spirit-propositions in the following section will provide the information needed to uphold or nuance that interpretation.

## 9.3 Theological Analysis

After analysing *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology from a structural perspective, I turn in this section to its theological content. Firstly, the activities that the Holy Spirit is said to undertake seem to be a natural starting point for exploring the content of the encyclical's pneumatology (10.3.1). In the second place, it seems worthwhile to analyse to which ecclesial addressees the Spirit is related (10.3.2). Finally, as the Spirit is the third person of the Trinity, I explore how *Mystici corporis* conceives the relationship between the Spirit and the Father and the Son (10.3.3).

### 9.3.1 Activities

An exploration of the Spirit's activities should start with the observation that *Mystici corporis* relates the Spirit to activities in three different manners. *Mystici corporis* describes the Spirit as actively involved in the proposition that the Spirit "perennially and intimately fills the Church and acts in her" (MC 61). An active involvement of the Holy Spirit may occasionally be articulated in passive terms, e.g. when sinners are said to be moved to conversion "by the inner promptings and stirrings of the Holy Spirit" (MC 22). The Spirit's active involvement may also be articulated in an implicit manner, such as when MC 1 specifies its contention that the doctrine of the mystical body invites people to contemplation by its greatness by the phrase "in so far as they (*homines*) are moved by the divine Spirit" (MC 1). This phrase makes both the explicit active proposition that the Spirit moves and the implicit active one that people contemplate the doctrine of the mystical body by the Holy Spirit.<sup>872</sup>

The Spirit is also described as passively involved, e.g. when Christ is said to have sent the Spirit (MC 25), or when Christ is said to have strengthened the Church through or with the Holy Spirit (MC 32), or when the Spirit is prayed to (MC 102). This type of activity too may be formulated in an implicit manner.

A third type of propositions implies some activity of the Holy Spirit, which however remains unspecified, e.g. when the Church is called "a habitation of God in the Spirit" (MC 7). Included in this

---

<sup>872</sup> Cf. the Latin text, "Mystici Corporis Christi, quod est Ecclesia (...) res eiusmodi profecto est, quae praestantia dignitateque sua omnes homines, quotquot Divino moventur Spiritu, ad contemplationem invitat".

category are also statements in which the Spirit is mentioned without a relation to an activity, such as that there is no opposition between the Holy Spirit and the hierarchical office (MC 63).

Finally, in some cases the encyclical's grammar is open for multiple interpretations, both in an active and a passive sense. The phrase *Spiritus communicatione* (MC 30) may be interpreted as an active or a passive proposition: does the Spirit communicate himself, or is the Holy Spirit communicated by someone else, probably Christ? Similarly, that same sentence states that the Church is pneumatologically "distinguished" (*illustratur*); in this case too, the Spirit could be both the author and the instrument of that distinction.<sup>873</sup>

Figure thirty-six below gives an overview how the various types of Spirit-propositions are divided over the document. The dark grey bar indicates the document's total number of Spirit-propositions, followed by the number of these featuring an active involvement (A), a passive involvement (P), a 'somehow' involvement (S) and an unclear involvement (U).

<b><i>Mystici corporis</i></b>											<b>128</b>	<b>66 A</b>	<b>36 P</b>	<b>15 S</b>	<b>11 U</b>
<b>Introduction</b>											<b>5</b>	<b>4 A</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1 S</b>	<b>-</b>
MC 1	MC 2	MC 3	MC 4	MC 5	MC 6	MC 7	MC 8	MC 9	MC 10	MC 11					
2 A	-	-	2 A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
-	-	-	-	-	-	1 S	-	-	-	-					
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
<b>Part I. The Church: Mystical Body of Christ</b>											<b>85</b>	<b>49 A</b>	<b>23 P</b>	<b>5 S</b>	<b>8 U</b>
<b>Preamble</b>											<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1 U</b>
MC 12	MC 13														
-	-														
-	-														
-	-														
1 U	-														
<b>1.1 Body</b>											<b>7</b>	<b>4 A</b>	<b>1 P</b>	<b>2 S</b>	<b>-</b>
MC 14	MC 15	MC 16	MC 17	MC 18	MC 19	MC 20	MC 21	MC 22	MC 23						
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 A	-						
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 P	-	-						
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 S	-	-						
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						
<b>1.2 Body of Christ</b>											<b>56</b>	<b>32 A</b>	<b>18 P</b>	<b>1 S</b>	<b>5 U</b>
MC 24	MC 25	MC 26	MC 27	MC 28	MC 29	MC 30	MC 31	MC 32	MC 33	MC 34	MC 35				
-	-	-	-	-	-	4 A	-	5 A	-	-	-				
-	1 P	-	-	-	-	3 P	-	4 P	-	-	-				
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
-	1 U	-	-	-	-	2 U	-	-	-	-	-				
MC 36	MC 37	MC 38	MC 39	MC 40	MC 41	MC 42	MC 43	MC 44	MC 45	MC 46	MC 47				
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2A	-				
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
-	-	-	-	1U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
MC 48	MC 49	MC 50	MC 51	MC 52	MC 53	MC 54	MC 55	MC 56	MC 57						
-	-	-	-	-	-	3 A	16 A	2 A	-						
-	-	-	-	-	-	10 P	-	-	-						
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 S	-	-						
-	-	-	-	-	-	1 U	-	-	-						

<sup>873</sup> Cf. the Latin text, "Ecclesia (...) uberrima illa Spiritus communicatione ditata est, qua quidem (...) divinitus illustratur".

<b>1.3 Mystical Body of Christ</b>									<b>21</b>	<b>13 A</b>	<b>4 P</b>	<b>2 S</b>	<b>2 U</b>
MC 58	MC 59	MC 60	MC 61	MC 62	MC 63	MC 64	MC 65	MC 66					
-	-	7 A	4 A	-	2 A	-	-	-					
-	1 P	-	-	-	3 P	-	-	-					
-	-	-	1 S	-	1 S	-	-	-					
-	1 U	-	-	-	1 U	-	-	-					
<b>Part II. Union with Christ</b>									<b>30</b>	<b>13 A</b>	<b>8 P</b>	<b>6 S</b>	<b>2 U</b>
<b>2.1 The Nature of Our Union</b>									<b>23</b>	<b>8 A</b>	<b>8 P</b>	<b>5 S</b>	<b>2 U</b>
MC 67	MC 68	MC 69	MC 70	MC 71	MC 72	MC 73	MC 74	MC 75	MC 76	MC 77	MC 78		
-	2 A	2 A	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 A	-	-		
-	-	1 P	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 P	-	-		
-	2 S	-	-	1 S	-	-	-	-	-	1 S	1 S		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 U	1 U		
MC 79	MC 80	MC 81	MC 82	MC 83									
1 A	-	-	2 A	-									
2 P	-	-	1 P	-									
-	-	-	-	-									
-	-	-	-	-									
<b>2.2 Errors</b>									<b>7</b>	<b>5 A</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2 S</b>	<b>-</b>
MC 84	MC 85	MC 86	MC 87	MC 88	MC 89								
-	-	4 A	1 A	-	-								
-	-	-	-	-	-								
-	-	-	2 S	-	-								
-	-	-	-	-	-								
<b>Part III. Exhortation to Love</b>									<b>5</b>	<b>2A</b>	<b>3P</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>
MC 90	MC 91	MC 92	MC 93	MC 94	MC 95	MC 96	MC 97	MC 98	MC 99	MC 100	MC 101		
1 A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
-	1 P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
MC 102	MC 103	MC 104	MC 105	MC 106	MC 107	MC 108	MC 109						
-	-	1 A	-	-	-	-	-						
1 P	1 P	-	-	-	-	-	-						
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						
<b>Concluding Articles</b>									<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2 P</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1 U</b>
MC 110	MC 111	MC 112											
-	-	-											
2 P	-	-											
-	-	-											
1 U	-	-											

**Figure 36.** Four types of Spirit-involvement: A (active), P (passive), S (somehow involved), U (unclear).

The dark grey bar in figure thirty-six demonstrates, first and foremost, that no less than 52% of the total number of one hundred and twenty-eight Spirit-propositions articulate the Spirit's involvement in an active manner, and that 28% of the propositions conceive the Spirit in a passive manner, with a smaller percentage of 12% and 9% somehow or unclear propositions.

The figures at the level of parts and chapters roughly correspond to this average picture, with some exception. Especially at the level of articles, the differences are remarkable. If one considers the eight articles with more than five propositions – MC 30, MC 32, MC 54-55, MC 60, MC 63, MC 68 and MC 76 – three of these articles stand out. While MC 54 features with ten out of fourteen a high relative number of passive Spirit-propositions, by contrast, MC 55 presents the Spirit mostly in active

terms, namely in fourteen of its seventeen Spirit-propositions. Article MC 60 features even 100% active Spirit-propositions.

What is the significance of these numbers? Firstly, they reveal that, generally speaking, *Mystici corporis* presents the Spirit in an active manner, with a sizable number of passive cases as well. Secondly, they show that there are some noticeable exceptions to the general pattern, especially in the case of MC 54-55 and MC 60. In the latter cases, the content is enlightening. For MC 54 argues that the Spirit depends on Christ and is therefore rightly called the Spirit of Christ. In the light of that argument, it makes sense that passive propositions dominate this section. With MC 55, the attention shifts to the Spirit himself and his work in the Church. Logically, the propositions now articulate the Spirit's involvement in an active manner. Interestingly, MC 56 – which belongs together with MC 54-55 – brings together both perspectives, for it formulates the Spirit's active involvement alongside as well as subtly after and under Christ by means of the formula *Redemptor noster una cum Spiritu suo*.<sup>874</sup> In the case of MC 60 too, the content of the article is enlightening. Pius XII explains the excellence of the mystical body of Christ – and thus the Church – over against other organisations by means of the Spirit. That makes that it is important for the Spirit to be presented as active. Still, most of the section's seven Spirit-propositions feature only in its very last phrase, which is moreover a quote (from Augustine).

So far I have explored how the Spirit is related to activities. Yet what is the content of the Spirit's involvement? What does the Spirit do? As it is impossible to analyse this per article or per chapter, I will answer this question for the encyclical as a whole. Firstly, the Spirit is described as principle and source. Articles 54 and 55 both open their reflection with statements on the Spirit as principle. In MC 54, the Spirit is called “this divine principle of life and power (*vitae virtutisque principium*)” and “the very well-spring of every created gift and grace”. MC 55 speaks of “the invisible principle to which we must attribute the union of all the parts of the Body with one another and with their exalted Head”, and later speaks also of “the principle of every single vital and effectively salutary action (*actionis vitalis ac reapse salutaris principium*) in all the parts of the Body” and “the Church's soul”. The apologetical reflection on the unicity of the mystical body in MC 60 speaks of the Spirit as “another internal principle (*internum aliud adiungitur principium*) of such surpassing excellence that by itself it immeasurably transcends all the bonds of unity by which any physical or moral body is knit together”. The next section, MC 61, continues with the description of the Spirit as source: “the source of all graces, gifts and charisms (*fons gratiarum, donorum ac charismatum omnium*)”; at the end of the section, the word is repeated. The reflection on unity with

---

<sup>874</sup> The fact that the verbs are conjugated in the singular – *impertit, operatur* – too suggests that the activity depends only on Christ, cf. the Latin text, “*quae Redemptor noster una cum Spiritu suo Ecclesiae impertit, unaque cum Spiritu suo, supernae lucis dator sanctitatisque effector, operatur*”. The dominant role of Christ is further confirmed by the alternative subject that is introduced, *supernae lucis dator sanctitatisque effector*. For as Tromp's clarifying notes confirm, this *dator* and *effector* is Christ, see Tromp, *Litterae encyclicae de mystico Iesu Christi corpore*, 131, and cf. the Christology in MC 48-49.

Christ in the Church in MC 68 calls the Spirit's inspiration "the most divine source (*fons divinissimus*)" of our continued sanctification. Finally, talking about God's work in us, MC 86 speaks about the Spirit as "the only source (*fontem*) from which all supernatural power flows into the Church and its members".<sup>875</sup>

Interestingly, these propositions often have a similar style, that is characterised by an indirect approach, such as in Pius XII's observation that "we will easily understand that it (the divine principle mentioned before, JM) is none other than the Paraclete" instead of stating directly "the divine principle is the Paraclete" (MC 54). Similarly, in MC 55 he stated that the link of the members of the mystical body with Christ and between themselves "must be attributed to" the Holy Spirit rather than that this belongs to the Holy Spirit, and that "He is to be held the source from which ..." rather than "He is the source ...".<sup>876</sup> Similar phrases include *significavit* (MC 55), *oporteat* (MC 76), and *nemo infitiri potest* (MC 86).

Secondly, the Spirit's active involvement is described in terms of indwelling and presence. The reflection on Christ the head in MC 46 explains Christ's excellence from the fact that "the Spirit dwells (*habitat*) in Him with a fullness of grace than which no greater can be conceived". Similarly, MC 54 states that the Spirit "delights to dwell in the Redeemer's pure soul as in a temple". MC 55 develops this further in the direction of the Church and its members when it speaks of the Spirit as "dwelling in the Head, the Body and in each of its members", a proposition it repeats three times with some differences,<sup>877</sup> to specify finally that the Spirit does not dwell in those who are separated from the Church. MC 60 speaks of the Spirit as "really existing (*reapse existens*) and operative, both in the whole structure (of the mystical body) and in every one of its parts". Finally, MC 76 speaks of the "indwelling (*inhabitatio*) of the Holy Spirit in the souls", as does MC 79. Thus the Spirit's indwelling has as its object notably the Church and her members, yet also Christ.

Further, the Spirit is said to work in an abstract, unspecified manner, often with the verbs *agere* and *operari*. This type of activity is at times connected to the Spirit's indwelling, especially in article MC 55, where that connection is made several times. For after describing the Spirit as principle that is present in all, MC 55 adds that the Spirit "is present and assists" in the various members of the Church, according to their various functions;<sup>878</sup> repeating that the Spirit is present in all the members, MC 55 then states that He "divinely acts (*agat*)" in them and that He "operates (*operatur*) in the lower

<sup>875</sup> Cf. also allusions at this idea of a principle or source in MC 61, "id tamen, quo ...".

<sup>876</sup> Interestingly, the translation by Canon Smith and the one the website of the Vatican both omit the *habendus* clause, cf. the Latin text, "Ille est, qui caelesti vitae habitu in omnibus corporis partibus cuiusvis est habendus actionis vitalis ac reapse salutaris principium".

<sup>877</sup> See MC 55: "totus in Capite cum (Spiritus, JM) sit, totus in Corpore, totus in singulis membris"; "quibus (Spiritus, JM) diversis rationibus praesens est atque adsistit"; and "licet per se ipse in omnibus membris habeatur, in iisdemque divinitus agat, in inferioribus tamen etiam per superiorum ministerium operatur" and "Iesu Christi Spiritus praesentiam operationemque".

<sup>878</sup> The opening words of MC 54 too establish this connection between the Spirit as principle and the Spirit's indwelling.



members through the ministry of the higher”, to conclude with what seems to be a summary formula: “the presence and operation (*praesentiam operationemque*) of the Holy Spirit”. Thus the Spirit’s presence has an active side to it, although the content of that active involvement remains unspecified. Moreover, in this section, the Spirit’s presence and operation are connected to the word “soul”. MC 60 too connects the notions of the Spirit as principle, indwelling and an unspecified active involvement. The Spirit is described as the “internal principle” which “really exists and is operative (*existens virtuteque pollens*)”; in addition, it is stated to be so “both in the whole structure and in each one of its parts”.

Verbs of this type are also found in MC 56, where “Christ, together with the Spirit”, is said to give and work gifts (*muneribus quae impertit ... operatur*); MC 61, where the Spirit is said to “perennially and intimately fill the Church and act in her” (*perpetuo et intime Ecclesiam replet et in ea operatur*); MC 69, where the Spirit is said to work in Christ’s name (*suas partes agans*); MC 76, where the Spirit’s action in the soul is referred to with the verb *peraguntur*; and finally, the unspecified “action of the divine Spirit” and the working of the “heavenly Spirit” (MC 86).

A fourth group of activities is more concrete about the Spirit’s active, stimulating and dynamic influence. Although the words that are used to articulate this influence differ, their content overlaps. While according to MC 1 the Spirit moves people, namely to contemplate the mystical body, MC 4 speaks about the Spirit who “stimulates”, also implying that the Spirit “compels” to search the Kingdom. The reflection on the place of sinners in the Church in MC 22 refers in various ways to the Spirit who stimulates sinners to mend their ways.<sup>879</sup> Similarly MC 68 speaks about the Spirit’s “inspiration and impulse in our hearts and minds” as the deepest source of unity in the Church, and MC 87, discussing the practise of frequent confession, specifies that this has been introduced into the Church “not without the inspiration (*instinctu*) of the Holy Spirit”.

Interestingly, except for MC 68, all these propositions share the characteristic that they are made in short clarifying subclauses. MC 1 speaks about the greatness of the doctrine of the mystical body by which it invites “omnes homines, quotquot Divino moventur Spiritu, ad contemplationem”. Similarly, MC 87 speaks about “pium illum, non sine Spiritus Sancti instinctu ab Ecclesia inductum, crebrae confessionis usum”. This gives the impression that the references to the Spirit’s dynamic influence are an added extra that is not essentially part of the argument.

Finally, the Spirit is occasionally linked to a host of other activities that cannot be brought under one heading. The Spirit is stated to unify the Church (MC 55, MC 60),<sup>880</sup> to “descend” unto the

---

<sup>879</sup> All four Spirit-propositions in this one phrase refer to a dynamic influence, cf. the Latin text (bold by JM): “intimis Spiritus Sancti **suasionibus impulsioneque** ad salutem **instigantur** timorem, et ad precandum suique lapsus paenitendum divinitus **excitantur**”.

<sup>880</sup> According to MC 55, we should attribute the unity between the members of the Church and with God to the Holy Spirit (*ut omnes Corporis partes tam inter sese, quam cum excelso Capite suo coniungantur*), and MC 60, in combination with “fulfill” (*totam Ecclesiam replet et unit*).

people of Israel and unto Christ (MC 30, MC 32), to enable Christ's human nature and the Church to fulfil their respective missions (MC 30),<sup>881</sup> to give gifts (MC 56; MC 63), to fill the Church (MC 60-61), and to make people holy live after Christ's example (MC 82 and MC 86). Mentioned a single time are: to invite to contemplate the mystical body (MC 1), to irrigate the Church (MC 30), to come visibly (MC 32), to "touch (the apostles at the start of their mission, JM) with tongues of fire" and to indicate their mission to them (MC 32), to make people into adoptive children of God and to make people resemble Christ (MC 54), to ensure new growth in the Church (MC 55), to complement the juridical mission of the hierarchy (MC 63), to hiddenly lead the Church (MC 69) and to pronounce judgement on the leaders of the nations (MC 105).

This overview shows, firstly, that *Mystici corporis* conceives the Spirit's active involvement in the Church in four major ways: as principle and source, as indwelling, as working in an abstract manner, and as working in a stimulating and dynamic manner. Generally speaking too, the Spirit's active involvement is articulated in an abstract manner. That is obvious in the third category, with verbs such as *agere* and *operare*, but this is also true for the pneumatology of the Spirit as soul and for the Spirit as indwelling. For it may be fundamental to consider the Spirit as working, as ultimate source, as present and indwelling, yet this type of verbs leaves the concrete effect of the Spirit on the Church unspecified. Admittedly, *Mystici corporis* also mentions more specific activities, such as moving and stimulating, unifying, giving gifts, and helping the apostles at the start of their ministry, but these activities feature not amongst the activities mentioned more frequently.

When the Spirit's involvement is articulated in passive terms – the second type of propositions I identified – the Spirit is predominantly said to be sent or given, mostly by Christ. MC 25 states that Christ "manifested and promulgated (the Church) when he sent (*misit*) in a visible manner the Spirit-Paraclete unto the disciples", and MC 32 and MC 69 use the words *demisit* and *misit* to make similar points. Other articles use rather the verb *communicare* or synonyms such as *largiri*, such as MC 54, which speaks of the Spirit who "is bestowed (*largitus est*) upon the Church" and then adds that the Spirit "is imparted (*impertitur*)" to the members of the Church, implying in both cases that Christ is the actor. It also states that "the Spirit is communicated". Article MC 76 too speaks of Christ communicating the Spirit, and depending on the interpretation of *communicatio Spiritus* maybe MC 77 as well. Finally, MC 110 explains that the Spirit was already "given (*datus*)" at the cross and "bestowed (*confertur*)" at Pentecost.

With what seems to be a poetic synonym for giving, the Spirit is also said to be what something may be embellished or enriched with. MC 30 states that the Church "has been enriched (*ditata*) with an abundant communication of the Holy Spirit". It continues to state that Christ has both "embellished (*ornavit*)" his own soul with the Spirit and that Christ "wanted to enrich (*ditatam*

---

<sup>881</sup> Christ is said to have wanted the Church to be gifted with the Holy Spirit "so that in distributing the divine fruits of the Redemption she might be an effective and never-failing instrument of the Incarnate Word" in the same way as He had done with his own human nature.

*voluit*)” the Church with the Spirit. Similar verbs also feature in MC 54 (*ornavit*), MC 59 (*ditavit*) and MC 63 (*voluisse ditatam*), and depending on the interpretation in MC 40 (*ornatis chrismate Spiritus*).

Various other verbs, although not belonging to one concept, share as characteristic Christ’s ownership of the Spirit. According to MC 32, Christ “has strengthened (*roboravit*)” the Church with the Holy Spirit and has manifested and promulgated the Church by means of the Spirit. According to MC 54, Christ “has promised” the Spirit and is “breathing (*efflans*)” the Spirit, while MC 63 explains that the Spirit’s mission “proceeds from” Christ. Further, MC 76 explains that Christ is present and operates “through the Spirit (*per Spiritum*)”. These various verbs imply that the Spirit is at Christ’s disposal.

A final group of propositions is too diverse to put under one heading. According to MC 54, Christ has received the Spirit (*accepit*). Three articles speak about the Christian who has the Spirit: MC 63 quotes from the gospel of John “receive the Holy Spirit”; MC 76 quotes from the letter to the Rom “if someone does not have the Spirit ...”; and MC 82 speaks of “drawing (*hauriamus*)” the Spirit from the Eucharist. In some other cases, the Spirit is the object that is talked about, such as when MC 78 states that “we (Pius XII, JM) are by no means unaware” about the difficulties related to understanding the doctrine of the Spirit’s indwelling, and MC 79 refers to Leo XIII’s speaking about that same doctrine. In MC 79, the Spirit is the object of our contemplation, together with the Father and the Son, and in MC 102 He is the object of our prayer. In one case, the Church is the source of the Holy Spirit, namely when MC 91 states that “she fills and consoles the hearts of the faithful with the Spirit of Christ”. And finally, in MC 103, the Father is stated to work with the help of the Spirit, when it specifies that people are drawn to the truth “by the Father of light, through (*per*) the Spirit of his beloved Son”.

Thus the dominant feature of the encyclical’s passive Spirit-propositions is their christocentric context. Christ has sent, communicated and given the Spirit; He has embellished the Church with the Spirit; He has strengthened the Church with the Spirit; He has breathed the Spirit.

A third type of Spirit-propositions describes the Spirit’s involvement without specifying it, for example when MC 7 speaks of “a dwelling place in the Holy Spirit” or when MC 68 states that an act can only be salutary when done “in the Spirit”. In four cases, such a proposition is made in the context of unity, such as when MC 21 explains that “in one Spirit we were all baptised into one body”, specifying that living in one body and from one Spirit mutually suppose one another.<sup>882</sup> Other categories range from e.g. the comparison between the Church’s juridical structure and the Holy Spirit (MC 61) to holiness (MC 68).

Interestingly, this overview recalls the typical (magisterial) preconciliar pneumatology. The Spirit is conceived in a christocentric context (see chapter 9.1), as soul, source or principle (see chapter 9.3) and as indwelling (see chapter 9.4). Moreover, in so far as *Mystici corporis* specified

---

<sup>882</sup> See MC 21 (2x); MC 68 (*nisi ex illius virtute*); MC 72.

some other activities as well, especially the category of unspecified active involvement could be interpreted in relation to the categories of principle and source or indwelling and sanctification.

### 9.3.2 Addressees

So far I have explored the content of the Spirit's involvement in the Church, yet in relation to whom is the Spirit said to undertake his actions? To whom is the Holy Spirit given? In whom is the Holy Spirit working? Who have the Holy Spirit? Because a detailed overview per chapter and per article offers too many and too small details, I will analyse the document as a whole.

Most Spirit-propositions explicitly articulate an addressee. MC 25 states that Christ "has sent the Spirit Paraclete into his disciples", or MC 54 specifies that the Holy Spirit "has made us adoptive children". In some cases, the addressee is stated implicitly, such as when MC 69 explains that "the Divine Redeemer sent the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, who in his name should govern the Church in an invisible way". Finally, some propositions do not mention an addressee, either because they are general propositions, such as that the Spirit is "the principle of life and virtue, given by Christ" (MC 54), or because the Holy Spirit himself is the addressee, such as when *Mystici corporis* speaks of prayer to the Holy Spirit (MC 102).

The Spirit's first major addressee is the Church, designated mostly as *Ecclesia*, with alternatives such as *Corpus mysticum* and *Sponsa*. Speaking about Christ's cross, MC 30 explains that "the Church became enriched with that most abundant communication of the Spirit", adding that this "divinely distinguished" her. MC 55 states that the Spirit dwells "in the Body (of the Church, JM)", and MC 61 argues that "that which raises the Christian society (*christiana societas*, viz. the Church) to a level utterly surpassing any order of nature is the Spirit or our redeemer". In forty propositions, *Mystici corporis* identifies the Church as the addressee of the Holy Spirit.<sup>883</sup>

The second major addressee are the members of the Church, mostly called *nos* and *membra*. MC 21 states that "all of us (*omnes nos*) were baptised in one Spirit into one body", and MC 54-55 repeatedly link the Holy Spirit to the faithful, such as in the statement that the Spirit "has made us adopted sons of God" (MC 54) and that He is the source of life "in all the parts of the body" (MC 55). The faithful are the implied addressee of the Spirit in the statement that in the Church "we are filled

---

<sup>883</sup> See MC 21 (*coetus christifidelium*); MC 25 (*templum mystici corporis*); MC 30 (*haud secus Ecclesia*, 3x; *Catholicam scilicet Ecclesiam*; *Ecclesiam suam*, 2x; – 6x); MC 32 (*eam* = *Quam Ecclesiam*; *Sponsam suam*; – 2x); MC 54 (*Ecclesiae largitus*; *cum Ecclesia*, 2x; *ut ipsa*; – 5x); MC 55 (*in Corpore*; *dum Ecclesiae*, 2x; *eius anima* (= *Ecclesiae*); – 4x); MC 56 (*Ecclesiae*, 2x); MC 59 (*Corpus Ecclesiae*, 2x); MC 60 (*in universa compage*; *in totam Ecclesiam*, 2x; – 3x); MC 61 (*christiana societas*; *Ecclesiam*, 2x; – 3x); MC 63 (*eam* = *Ecclesiam*, 2x; *invisibilem missionem*, 2x; – 4x); MC 69 (*Ecclesiae gubernationem*, 2x); MC 87 (*Ecclesia*, 2x); MC 110 (*recens ortae Ecclesiae*). In total forty cases.

with the one divine Spirit” (MC 90). *Mystici corporis* identifies the members of the church as the addressee of the Holy Spirit in thirty-five cases.<sup>884</sup>

Finally, there is a range of other addressees that are mentioned less frequently, the most important of which are Christ and the hierarchy. In eleven cases, Christ is described as addressee of the Holy Spirit, for example in the statement that “the Spirit delights to dwell in the Redeemer’s pure soul” (MC 54).<sup>885</sup> In five cases, the Spirit is related with the apostles, such as the statement that Christ was “breathing Him (the Spirit, JM) upon the apostles” (MC 54).<sup>886</sup> In four other cases, *Mystici corporis* links the Spirit to “the higher members” (MC 54) of the mystical body, through whom the Spirit is said to work also in the lower ones, and to the bishops.<sup>887</sup> The encyclical also links the Spirit to humankind,<sup>888</sup> sinners,<sup>889</sup> Christians in general,<sup>890</sup> those outside the Church,<sup>891</sup> the people of Israel,<sup>892</sup> leaders of the peoples<sup>893</sup> and Mary.<sup>894</sup>

Thus *Mystici corporis* relates the Spirit predominantly to the Church and her members, and to a lesser extent also to Christ and the hierarchy. Especially the first addressee, the Church, deserves some attention, for upon closer consideration it is everything but clear what exactly *Mystici corporis* has in mind when it refers to the Church. In some cases, the Church functions as a hierarchy-focused concept. For example, MC 32 seems to identify the Church and the apostles as addressees of the Spirit when it explains what happened at Pentecost: “Having established the Church in his blood, He (Christ, JM) fortified it on the day of Pentecost with a special power from on high. (...) When the apostles

---

<sup>884</sup> See MC 7 (*habitaclum Dei in Spiritu*, which is linked to “*vivis illis lapidibus*”); MC 21 (*omnes nos*); MC 54 (*nobis; membris mystici corporis; singula membra; nos; – 4x*); MC 55 (*omnes corporis partes; in singulis membris, 3x; in omnibus corporis partibus; in omnibus membris; in iisdem; – 7x*); MC 60 (*in singulis eius partibus*); MC 68 (*Corporis membrorum; mentes animosque nostros; innumerae cuiusvis gentis, cuiusvis stirpis multitudines*, meaning the diversity of peoples in the Church; – 3x); MC 71 (implied subject *nos*); MC 76 (*in nobis; nobiscum; in nobis; in animis; quis; – 5x*); MC 77 (*omnia Ecclesiae membra*); MC 78 (*in animis*); MC 80 (*nos*); MC 82 (implied *nos, 3x*); MC 86 (Christians, cf. *omnis Christianorum vita, 2x; in eiusque membra; homines* meaning the aforementioned *membra; – 4x*); MC 90 (implied *nos*); MC 91 (*fidelium animos*). In total thirty-five cases.

<sup>885</sup> See MC 30 (*humanam naturam sibi substantialiter unitam, 2x*); MC 32 (*super eum, 3x*); MC 46 (*in eo, 2x*); MC 54 (*animam suam; in almo Redemptoris animo; Christus; – 3x*); MC 55 (*in Capite*).

<sup>886</sup> See MC 25 (*discipulos, viz. apostles*); MC 32 (*eosdem = Apostoli, 3x*); MC 54 (*Apostolos*).

<sup>887</sup> See also MC 65’s statement on the complementarity of the Spirit and the hierarchy and MC 77, which specifies *in omnia Ecclesiae membra* with the clause *et in iis secundum locum quem in mystici Iesu Christi Corpore occupant*. For bishops, see MC 40.

<sup>888</sup> See MC 1 (*omnes homines, 2x*); MC 12 (*omnes protoparentis filios*); MC 103 (*homines*).

<sup>889</sup> In one dense phrase, MC 22 makes four Spirit-propositions in relation to sinners: the Spirit “prompts”, “stirs”, “are brought to fear” and are “urged to prayer”.

<sup>890</sup> See MC 4 (*christifidelibus, 2x*).

<sup>891</sup> MC 22, MC 55.

<sup>892</sup> MC 30.

<sup>893</sup> MC 104.

<sup>894</sup> MC 110.

were about to begin their sacred work of preaching, Christ our Lord sent his Spirit from heaven to touch them with tongues of fire and, like a divine finger, to indicate the supernatural mission and function of the Church” (MC 32).

MC 54 too identifies Church and apostles when it states that, “breathing Him (the Spirit, JM) upon the apostles, He (the Spirit, JM) was bestowed upon the Church for the forgiveness of sins”. However, another number of cases challenges the view that *Mystici corporis* links the Spirit especially to the Church, understood as hierarchy, for in the reflection on the Church’s mystical dimension in MC 58-65, the Spirit’s gift to the Church is precisely related, not to the hierarchy, but rather to the Church’s deepest, mystical dimension. That mystical dimension of the Church, so MC 61 argues, stands above the Church’s concrete social juridical reality: “The true meaning of the word «mystical» therefore reminds us that the Church, which must be held to be a society perfect in its own order, does not consist merely of social and juridical elements (...). (T)he structure of the Christian society, proof though it is of the wisdom of the divine architect, is nevertheless something of a completely lower order in comparison with the spiritual gifts which enrich it and give it life, and with Him who is their divine source (namely, the Holy Spirit, JM)”. According to this view, the Spirit’s mission in the Church does not mean: towards the hierarchy, but precisely beyond structure and hierarchy.<sup>895</sup>

Moreover, in some other cases, the Church as addressee of the Holy Spirit seems to be a more inclusive category. MC 54 hints at an inclusive notion of the Church when it states the Spirit is given to the Church so that “she herself and each of her members may grow daily in likeness to our saviour”. Similarly MC 55 explicates that the Spirit is “wholly present in the Head (Christ, JM), wholly in the body (the Church, JM) and wholly in each of its members”. In this case too, the Church as addressee of the Spirit is not understood in an exclusively hierarchical manner. However the fact that *Mystici corporis* makes a distinction in the Spirit’s bestowal upon the Church between the higher and lower members should warn for naive and anachronistic inclusive interpretations.

In the light of the agenda of *Mystici corporis*, these various meanings of the word Church in relation to the Spirit do not surprise. As we have seen in chapter 2.2, Pius XII wanted to stress the Church’s transcendent dimension to correct overly horizontal views of the Church, while at the same time upholding her concrete, hierarchical dimension. The Spirit was therefore understood both as the Church’s unique transcendent dimension and as the special support of her hierarchical reality.

In conclusion, *Mystici corporis*’ pneumatology conceives the Spirit especially in relation to the Church and to her members, while also featuring a sizable number of propositions in which the Spirit is related to Christ and to the hierarchy. However, as the text shows and its ecclesiological-

---

<sup>895</sup> Cf. what MC 63 states on the Spirit’s invisible mission: “Nulla igitur veri nominis oppositio vel repugnantia haberi potest inter invisibilem, quam vocant, Spiritus Sancti missionem, ac iuridicum Pastorum Doctorumque a Christo acceptum munus”. This notion of an invisible mission is confusing. It may refer to the invisible, mystical dimension of the Church, cf. MC 61, but also to the invisible side of the hierarchy’s mission, as in MC 32, and still another possibility is what Leo XIII called the invisible mission in the souls (see chapter 8.2).

historical background clarifies, the category of the Church holds various meanings, amongst which especially the hierarchy and the Church's mystical dimension.

### 9.3.3 Father, Son and Spirit

A third aspect of the theological analysis of *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology in this chapter focuses on the relationship of the Spirit to the Father and the Son. Does *Mystici corporis* perceive the Holy Spirit in relation to the Father and the Son, and if so, how does it conceive the trinitarian relationship?

*Mystici corporis* mentions the Spirit in thirty-four articles, in almost all of which at least one other divine person is mentioned. In those cases, the Father is designated as *Pater* and occasionally also as *Deus* or *Creator*, and the Son as *Filius* yet also as e.g. *Redemptor*. For example, in its short salvation-historical account of creation and redemption in MC 12, the encyclical mentions both the Father and the Son: "the God of mercies (viz. the Father, JM) «so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son», and with that same divine love the Word of the Eternal Father took to himself of the race of Adam a human nature (...) so that from the new and heavenly Adam the grace of the Holy Spirit might flow into all the children of the first parent".<sup>896</sup>

A considerable number of articles refer only to the Spirit and Christ, such as MC 1, which makes its statement on the Spirit who moves people to contemplate the mystical body after it has explained that that doctrine has been given by Christ.<sup>897</sup> In two articles, only the Father is mentioned, such as when LG 4 speaks of the Spirit's stimulating work after it has recommended to accept the difficulties of the times "with willing resignation from the hand of God".<sup>898</sup> article MC 60 mentions only the *Divinus Spiritus*.

In some of those cases, *Mystici corporis*' propositions on the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are without explicit connection. When MC 1 states that Christ has given the doctrine of the mystical body and that the Spirit moves people to study it, these could theoretically be related propositions, but in fact they are relatively distinct ones.<sup>899</sup> Similarly, in the statement in MC 4 that was just referred to, the references to the Father and the Son have no direct relationship.<sup>900</sup> As a

---

<sup>896</sup> For all articles with references to the Father, the Son and the Spirit, see MC 7, MC 12, MC 22, MC 30, MC 32, MC 54, MC 59, MC 61, MC 63, MC 68, MC 71, MC 78, MC 79, MC 86-87, MC 103, MC 110. In total: seventeen articles.

<sup>897</sup> For all articles with references to the Son and the Spirit, see MC 1, MC 21, MC 25, MC 40, MC 46, MC 55-56, MC 69, MC 76, MC 77, MC 90-91, MC 102. In total thirteen articles.

<sup>898</sup> See MC 4, MC 104.

<sup>899</sup> Cf. full text, "Mystici Corporis Christi, quod est Ecclesia (cfr. Col. 1, 24), ex ipsius Redemptoris labiis primitus excepta doctrina, ex qua magnum in sua luce ponitur beneficium, satis numquam elatum laudibus, arctissimae coniunctionis nostrae cum tam excelso Capite, res eiusmodi profecto est, quae praestantia dignitateque sua omnes homines, quotquot Divino moventur Spiritu, ad contemplationem invitat".

<sup>900</sup> For all articles with references to the Spirit as well as the Father and/or the Son, yet without a connection between those, see MC 1, MC 4, MC 22, MC 40, MC 82, MC 90, MC 102, MC 104.

consequence, it is not clear how exactly the relationship between the Father, the Son and the Spirit is conceived. In other cases, the trinitarian relationship is articulated without details or in general terms, such as when MC 21 speaks about “one body, one Spirit, one Lord, one baptism” or when MC 79 speaks about contemplating “the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit”.<sup>901</sup> In those cases too, little information is given on the actual understanding of the relationship between Father, Son, and Spirit. Finally, I will not evaluate a section’s trinitarian conception if the connection between the Spirit and the Son consists in no more than the designation *Spiritus Christi*, such as in MC 91.<sup>902</sup>

When *Mystici corporis* explicitly connects its statements on the Father, the Son and the Spirit, three types of relationship may be distinguished. The first of these is christocentric. In these cases, the Spirit is often called after Christ and presented in dependence on Christ or as Christ’s instrument. Characteristic for this typology is also that the Spirit’s role is often described less extensively than Christ’s. A particularly strong example of this type of trinitarian relationships is MC 76, which, pondering the meaning of the Pauline phrase that Christ is in us and that we are in Christ, demonstrates all the characteristics I just mentioned. When the encyclical explains that “Christ is in us through his Spirit, whom He gives to us and through whom He acts within us in such a way that all the divine activity of the Holy Spirit within our souls must also be attributed to Christ”, the first three characteristics are even present in one single phrase. For the Spirit is not only called after Christ, *Spiritum suum*, but also presented as dependent on Christ, who is said to give the Spirit, *quem (Christus) nobiscum communicat*, and as Christ’s instrument, *per quem (Christus) in nobis operatur*. In addition, the article as a whole speaks at considerably greater length and with considerably more detail about what Christ does than what the Spirit does.

Christocentrism does not rule out an active involvement of the Holy Spirit. This is particularly clear in the case of MC 32, which discusses the final phase of Christ’s founding of the Church, namely her promulgation and manifestation. The article consists of three sentences that feature a substantial number of Spirit-propositions, the majority of which presupposes the Spirit’s active involvement, yet each of these sentences is dominated by references to Christ. For according to the first sentence, Christ strengthens with the Spirit; the second sentence explains that Christ proclaims the Church “by (or through, JM) the visible coming of the Holy Spirit”; and the third one specifies how Christ sends *suum Spiritum* to strengthen the apostles. This Christ-centered trinitarian-theological framework is the dominant one.<sup>903</sup> It is also noteworthy that four of the eight articles with the highest density of Spirit-propositions represent this typology: MC 30, MC 32, MC 63 and MC 76.

---

<sup>901</sup> For all articles in which the references the Father and/or the Son and Spirit are related yet without much detail, see MC 7, MC 21, MC 63, MC 71, MC 78, MC 79. The phrase *a Patre luminum per Spiritum dilecti Filii* too seems to be a traditional designation.

<sup>902</sup> For these cases, see MC 86-87, MC 91, MC 110. In total, the Spirit is called after Christ some fifteen times, see also MC 54-56, and also MC 61, MC 76, MC 77, MC 104.

<sup>903</sup> See MC 25, MC 30, MC 32, MC 58-59, MC 63, MC 76-77.



Secondly, the Spirit is also conceived as complementary to (the Father and) the Son. Instead of focusing on Christ, *Mystici corporis* elaborates in these cases the contribution of (the Father,) the Son and the Spirit in a more or less equal manner. MC 68 gives a particularly strong example of this typology when it explains the source of our unity with Christ in the Church as follows: “not only the eternal Father’s pleasing and the earnest desire of our Saviour, but also the interior inspiration and impulse of the Holy Spirit”.<sup>904</sup> The complementary trinitarian view is apparent from the fact that the role of all three divine persons is developed, and that this is done without focusing on one person at the cost of the others.

In MC 46, MC 61 and MC 69, only the Son’s and the Spirit’s complementarity is elaborated. MC 46’s trinitarian view is complementary in so far as first Christ is said to be the head of the Church because, having the fullness of supernatural gifts, “his mystical body draws (*haurit*) from that fulness”, after which Christ’s fullness is commented upon with the phrase, “for in Him the Holy Spirit dwells with a fullness of grace than which no greater can be conceived”. Thus Christ is said to be a source of supernatural gifts from for the Church and the Spirit for Christ. According to the reflection on the Church’s unique mystical nature in MC 61, Christ has given the Church her constitution, with the Spirit being her unique source of grace.<sup>905</sup> Similarly, MC 69 states that Christ wants the Church to have a visible constitution and therefore sends the apostles, with the Spirit being responsible for the invisible governing of the Church; in this case, the fact that Christ is also said to be the origin of the Spirit’s mission suggests a christocentric framework. This typology is considerably less present.<sup>906</sup>

According to a third understanding, the Spirit overlaps with Christ. In these cases, what Christ is said to do is also linked to the Spirit, or vice versa. Especially article MC 54 features this type of trinitarian relationship, for the Spirit is introduced as a reconsideration of Christ’s grace. Or, as the opening words of the article read, “if we carefully consider this divine principle of life and power given by Christ inasmuch as it constitutes the very well-spring of every created gift and grace, we will easily understand that it is none other than the Paraclete, the Spirit who proceeds from the Father and the Son, and who in a special manner is called the «Spirit of Christ» or the «Spirit of the Son» (MC 54)”. The statement is made in the context of a reflection on Christ who sustains the Church in MC 50-56 and implies that what has first been stated about Christ – namely in articles MC 50-53 – is now related to the Spirit as well. Thus Christ and the Holy Spirit overlap.

---

<sup>904</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “non modo scilicet Aeterni Patris placitum, studiosaque Servatoris nostri voluntas, sed internus etiam Sancti Spiritus in mentes animosque nostros afflatus atque impulsus”.

<sup>905</sup> Cf. the Latin text, “Quamvis enim iuridicae rationes, quibus Ecclesia etiam innititur atque componitur, ex **divina** oriantur **a Christo data constitutione**, ad supernumque finem assequendum conferant, id tamen, quo christiana societas ad gradum evehitur, qui omnem naturae ordinem prorsus evincit, Redemptoris nostri **Spiritus est**, qui ceu fons gratiarum, donorum, ac charismatum omnium, **perpetuo et intime Ecclesiam replet et in ea operatur**” (bold by JM).

<sup>906</sup> See MC 46, MC 61, MC 69. Cf. MC 12, which summarizes salvation history by referring to the Father’s love for the world, the Son’s incarnation, and the Spirit’s grace, flowing into all the sons of Adam. However, does the word *deflueret* mean an activity of the Spirit (MC 12), so that the sentence features a complementary framework, or not?

Although the next article MC 55 focuses on the Spirit and refers only incidentally to Christ, I would argue that it represents this same, overlapping typology. For together with MC 54, the article belongs to the reflection on Christ's sustaining of the Church in MC 50-56. In that larger context, Christ's role and the Spirit's role overlap; what first Christ was stated to do now turns out to belong to the Spirit as well. For example, while MC 53 dwells on Christ's interior gifts and presence and explains that He "feeds and sustains each member according to the place it occupies in the Body", MC 55 states that the Spirit is "present in all the members and divinely acts in each, though He also acts in the lower members through the ministry of the higher"; these propositions are more or less synonymous.<sup>907</sup>

However, in spite of the fact that MC 56 is intimately linked to MC 54-55, its content can hardly be argued to belong to the overlapping typology. When it states that Christ and the Spirit give gifts and work in the Church, the details of the grammar indicate that this phrase represents neither an overlapping nor a complementary typology, but rather to a subtly articulated Christ-centered one. For the *una cum* clause which connects the Son and the Spirit in fact subordinates the Spirit to the Son. That analysis is confirmed by the fact that the verbs are in the singular, *impertit*, *operatur*, and by the fact that the clarifying adjective clause *supernae lucis dator sanctitatisque effector* only relates to Christ, and not to the Spirit.<sup>908</sup> This typology is incidental but not unimportant, for it is represented in the two articles with the highest number of Spirit-propositions, namely articles MC 54-55.<sup>909</sup>

This exploration complexifies our investigation of *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology in so far as *Mystici corporis* turns out to have various, mutually excluding trinitarian views. The Spirit cannot at the same time be conceived as complementary to Christ and as dependent on Him in the manner that we have seen in e.g. MC 32 and MC 76. Moreover, an overlapping view of the Spirit is neither compatible with a christocentric view, nor with a complementary one.

---

<sup>907</sup> One could also point to the more or less parallel statement in MC 49 and MC 55. For MC 49 considers Christ as "the author (*auctor*) and cause (*effector*) of holiness", adding that therefore "there can be no salutary act (*salutaris actus*) which does not proceed from Him as from its supernatural source". MC 55 states the same about the Spirit: "He, with his heavenly breath, must be held to be the source from which proceeds every single vital and effectively salutary action (*actionis vitalis ac reapse salutaris*) in all the parts of the Body". Admittedly, MC 49 is part of another topic, namely Christ as head of the body – MC 55 is part of the reflection on Christ as sustainer – but these reflections are connected. Cf. the transition in MC 50 "This explanation (on Christ the Head, JM) contributes greatly to the understanding of a third reason for which the social body of the Church is called the body of Christ, consisting in the fact that our Saviour himself divinely upholds the society which He founded".)

<sup>908</sup> Tromp confirms that only Christ is intended, for he refers for clarification of this phrase to MC 48-49 (or, in his case, MC 49-50), see Tromp, *Litterae encyclicae de mystico Iesu Christi corpore*, 131.

<sup>909</sup> Cf. MC 40, where the excellence of the bishops is first argued from Christ (*ut qui singulari prorsus nexu iunguntur cum divino totius Corporis Capite*), and then from the Spirit (*utpote Spiritus Sancti chrismate ornatis*). Cf. also MC 76, where Christ's indwelling and the Spirit's are claimed to be identical; however, in this case Christ dominates the reflection, so that I have interpreted this article as featuring a Christ-centered trinitarian typology.

## Intermediary Conclusion

What do the explorations of the Spirit's activities, addressees and trinitarian-theological typology reveal about *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology? In the first place, the Spirit is viewed predominantly as actively involved in the Church, with as addressees the Church and her members, in a christocentric trinitarian framework. In specifying the Spirit's activities, *Mystici corporis* mentions especially abstract ones, such as being a source or principle (or soul), indwelling and verbs such as *agere* and *operari*. Moreover, when the Church is specified to be the Spirit's addressee, it is in fact unclear what is meant: the hierarchy, the mystical dimension of the Church, or the Church in an inclusive sense. The dominance of the christocentric typology and the relatively vague articulation of the Spirit's role may well explain the observations in chapter 9.2: the Spirit has a considerably smaller importance than Christ.

Secondly, constructing an overall pneumatology does not do justice to another aspect of *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology, namely that it is uneven. There is not "the" pneumatology of *Mystici corporis*. For example, while MC 54 conceives the Spirit's involvement in the Church mainly in a passive manner, MC 55 focuses on the Spirit's active involvement. Moreover, the document's trinitarian-theological imaginations vary significantly from one article to another. This conclusion links up with the findings and suggestions in the structural analysis, which demonstrated an uneven, varying distribution of Spirit-propositions. Possibly, an argumentative analysis may shed further light on the uneven pattern of *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology.

## 9.4 Argumentative Analysis

So far I have focused on the surface of the text and on its theological content. As *Mystici corporis*' Spirit-propositions figure in the context of an ecclesiological argument, it is also relevant to explore the argumentative role of the references to the Spirit. That means that in what follows my interest does not lie in the pneumatological significance of what is stated as such, but rather in the significance for the argument. Does a given Spirit-proposition belong to the core or essence of the ecclesiological argument and is it therefore part of the foundational considerations, or does it not, and is it therefore part of the clarifying considerations?

As we have seen in 3.3, *Mystici corporis*' argument is built on two main convictions. The Church is understood in a theological manner: a body with a transcendent head, Christ, and with a unique mystical dimension, the Holy Spirit. Yet the Church is also understood as a social-juridical, hierarchical organisation. In this section I explore the significance of the Spirit-propositions for this argument, its main convictions, and its elaboration into parts and articles varies.

For example, MC 1 highlights the greatness of the doctrine of the mystical body, which invites people to contemplation, and which for Pius XII was a major reason to write this encyclical. MC 1

nuances in passing by that this doctrine invites to contemplation by its greatness by adding “in so far as people are moved by the Holy Spirit”. Thus it makes both the implicit pneumatological proposition that the doctrine invites to contemplation by the Holy Spirit and the explicit proposition that the Spirit moves. Although theologically speaking this is an important nuance, from an argumentative point of view it is not foundational but rather clarifying. Without it, the article would lose a theologically significant nuance, not its core. The fact that it is placed in a subordinate clause suggests as much.

Similarly, MC 21 stresses – in the wider context of the reflection on the body in MC 14-23 – that Church-membership presupposes visible bonds. That claim is explained or illustrated by means of various Scripture-references that feature various Spirit-propositions. From an argumentative perspective, these propositions clarify rather than that they are part of the essence of MC 21’s argument.

By contrast, Spirit-propositions may also belong to the argumentative core of a given ecclesiological reflection, such as in the case of MC 25, the opening article of the argument on the element “of Christ” in MC 25-32. MC 25 states that, because Christ is the founder of the Church, the Church is rightly called after Him. It summarizes four considerations to come in support of this proposition, the final one of which reads that “Christ manifested and promulgated the Church by the visible mission of the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, upon the disciples”. Without this Spirit-proposition, the argument in this article on Christ the founder of the Church would lose an essential part. It is therefore to be considered foundational.

In the case of the Spirit-centered reflections in MC 54-55, all Spirit-propositions are foundational. After opening with the proposition that what Christ gives is fundamentally the Holy Spirit, MC 54 develops an argument why that Spirit is best called after Christ.<sup>910</sup> Both the initial proposition and the argument that follows are essential for the article which, after all, is about Christ’s sustainment of the Church. Similarly, all MC 55’s Spirit-propositions belong to the core of its argument on the Spirit as unifying and salutary principle.

Further, one and the same article may contain both foundational and non-foundational propositions, as is the case in MC 32. This article focuses on the final phase of Christ’s founding of the Church: the bestowal of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, by means of which Christ promulgated the Church. This argumentative core is articulated in three distinct sentences, all of which are part of the essence of what MC 32 is about. The first sentence refers to Pentecost and the strengthening of the Church, the second uses the technical terms manifest and promulgate, and the final one specifies that the Spirit touches with tongues of fire and teaches the apostles their mission. Only when MC 32 draws

---

<sup>910</sup> Cf. Tromp’s commentary: “In §54 enumerantur rationes, cur Paraclitus dicatur Spiritus Christi”, Tromp, *Litterae encyclicae de mystico Iesu Christi corpore*, 129.

a comparison between Pentecost and the bestowal of the Holy Spirit upon Christ, the Spirit-proposition are clarifying rather than foundational.<sup>911</sup>

Figure thirty-seven below shows where *Mystici corporis* makes Spirit-propositions with a foundational and clarifying weight. The dark grey bar demonstrates the document's total number of Spirit-propositions followed by the division over foundational and clarifying propositions. The lighter grey bars do the same per chapter and the white bars per section.

<i>Mystici corporis</i>											128	62 / 66
<b>Introduction</b>											5	0 / 5
MC 1	MC 2	MC 3	MC 4	MC 5	MC 6	MC 7	MC 8	MC 9	MC 10	MC 11		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
2 CL	-	-	2 CL	-	-	1 CL	-	-	-	-		
<b>Part I. The Church: Mystical Body of Christ</b>											85	48 / 37
<i>Preamble</i>											1	0 / 1
MC 12	MC 13											
-	-											
1 CL	-											
<b>1.1 Body</b>											7	0 / 7
MC 14	MC 15	MC 16	MC 17	MC 18	MC 19	MC 20	MC 21	MC 22	MC 23			
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 CL	4 CL	-			
<b>1.2 Body of Christ</b>											56	46 / 10
MC 24	MC 25	MC 26	MC 27	MC 28	MC 29	MC 30	MC 31	MC 32	MC 33	MC 34	MC 35	
-	2 F	-	-	-	-	5 F	-	6 F	-	-	-	
-	-	-	-	-	-	4 CL	-	3 CL	-	-	-	
MC 36	MC 37	MC 38	MC 39	MC 40	MC 41	MC 42	MC 43	MC 44	MC 45	MC 46	MC 47	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-	-	-	-	1 CL	-	-	-	-	-	2 CL	-	
MC 48	MC 49	MC 50	MC 51	MC 52	MC 53	MC 54	MC 55	MC 56	MC 57			
-	-	-	-	-	-	14 F	17 F	2 F	-			
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
<b>1.3 Mystical Body of Christ</b>											21	2 / 19
MC 58	MC 59	MC 60	MC 61	MC 62	MC 63	MC 64	MC 65	MC 66				
-	-	1 F	1 F	-	-	-	-	-				
-	2 CL	6 CL	4 CL	-	7 CL	-	-	-				

<sup>911</sup> For a similar case, see MC 30. As part of the reflection on Christ's completing of the foundation of the Church in MC 27-31, this article develops the significance of Christ's cross in a pneumatological manner. The opening sentence that "it was through his blood that the Church became enriched with that most abundant communication of the Spirit which has divinely distinguished her since" is an adequate summary of its main point, so that three Spirit-propositions in this phrase should be considered foundational. Yet when Pius XII continues and elaborates this by referring to saint Augustine and to Israel, the Spirit-propositions involved are best qualified as a clarification of the argument. This changes when Pius XII returns to the section's essence, which he however elaborates with a comparison. He explains that, in the same way as Christ adorned his human nature with the Holy Spirit to make it a suitable instrument, so at the cross he did with the Church. In this case, the Spirit-propositions in the second half are foundational as they belong to the core of the argument; those in the first half add interesting details that are however not essential.

<b>Part II. Union with Christ</b>										<b>30</b>	<b>14 / 16</b>
<b>2.1 The Nature of Our Union</b>										<b>23</b>	<b>11 / 12</b>
MC 67	MC 68	MC 69	MC 70	MC 71	MC 72	MC 73	MC 74	MC 75	MC 76	MC 77	MC 78
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 F	2 F	2 F
-	4 CL	3 CL	-	1 CL	-	-	-	-	1 CL	-	-
MC 79	MC 80	MC 81	MC 82	MC 83							
-	-	-	3 F	-							
3 CL	-	-	-	-							
<b>2.2 Errors</b>										<b>7</b>	<b>3 / 4</b>
MC 84	MC 85	MC 86	MC 87	MC 88	MC 89						
-	-	3 F	-	-	-						
-	-	1 CL	3 CL	-	-						
<b>Part III. Exhortation to Love</b>										<b>5</b>	<b>0 / 5</b>
MC 90	MC 91	MC 92	MC 93	MC 94	MC 95	MC 96	MC 97	MC 98	MC 99	MC 100	MC 101
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 CL	1 CL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MC 102	MC 103	MC 104	MC 105	MC 106	MC 107	MC 108	MC 109				
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
1 CL	1 CL	1 CL	-	-	-	-	-				
<b>Concluding Articles</b>										<b>3</b>	<b>0 / 3</b>
MC 110	MC 111	MC 112									
-	-	-									
3 CL	-	-									

**Figure 37.** The argumentative weight of Spirit-propositions: F (foundational) or CL (clarifying).

What does figure thirty-seven reveal about *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology? In the first place, the Spirit-propositions fulfil a predominantly clarifying function. Admittedly, the document as a whole has almost the same number of foundational and clarifying propositions, with a remarkably high number of foundational propositions in chapter 1.2. However, half of the document's sixty-two foundational propositions are found in the two Spirit-centered articles MC 54-55; these also account for the high number of foundational propositions in chapter 1.2. Moreover, one does not see a similar balance at the level of articles with Spirit-propositions, namely eleven out of the document's thirty-six articles with Spirit-propositions feature one or more foundational Spirit-propositions; that means 31%. Arguably therefore, pneumatology fulfills in *Mystici corporis*' argument especially a clarifying role.

Next, if one zooms in and considers the contexts in which *Mystici corporis* considers the Holy Spirit as foundational, these turn out to correspond to the four typical topics for preconiliar (magisterial) pneumatology. We have seen that, typically, the Spirit is conceived framework of Christ and, logically therefore, as dependent on Christ or Christ's instrument (see chapter 8.1). That is how articles MC 54-55 discuss the Spirit, who is introduced in the context of a reconsideration of all that has been stated so far. The conclusion of such a reconsideration is that what Christ sustains the Church with is identical to the Holy Spirit, who, as MC 54 argues, is rightly called after Christ. In the context of a consideration of Christ's cross, article MC 30 suggests something similar, as the reflection on indwelling in MC 76 does too. Secondly, the foundational Spirit-propositions in articles MC 25 and MC 32 deal with Christ who manifested the Church by bestowing the Holy Spirit upon the apostles, "to indicate to them the supernatural mission and function of the Church", which corresponds to the

hierarchy-centered pneumatology (see chapter 8.2). The Spirit was also typically conceived as the soul of the Church (see chapter 8.3), and this too is characteristic for some of *Mystici corporis*' foundational Spirit-propositions, namely in MC 60-61. Finally, another typical preconciliar pneumatological topic was that the Spirit dwells in the faithful, which is the topic of MC 76-78, which both feature a majority of foundational Spirit-propositions (see chapter 8.4). The only article with foundational propositions that cannot be linked to a typical pre-conciliar pneumatological topic is article MC 82, which considers the Eucharist.

## Conclusion

How does *Mystici corporis* conceive the Holy Spirit? In order to answer that question, I have explored *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology from a structural, theological and argumentative perspective, by means of close reading. What have we found? What are, generally speaking, the outlines of *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology?

*Mystici corporis*' pneumatology is bound to specific moments of the reflection or occasions, and may therefore be called occasional. It concentrates its Spirit-propositions in eight articles that together feature almost two-third of the total number of the document's Spirit-propositions. The occasional nature of *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology is also obvious from the fact that the Spirit's active involvement is specified in a small number of ways. The Spirit is source and principle in the Church, indwelling, working in a somewhat unspecific sense, and exerting a dynamic influence. The fact that the Spirit was also related to a whole range of other activities that feature only a few times confirms rather than challenges the conclusion that *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology focuses on a few topics.

Secondly, *Mystici corporis* values the Spirit's role as significant, albeit under Christ. For in each of the eight articles in which *Mystic corporis* concentrates its Spirit-propositions, at least one of these propositions – and in the case of MC 54-55 all Spirit-propositions – is part of the foundational reflection. When the Spirit is mentioned, He is important for what is going on. At the same time, the Spirit is mostly mentioned in subclauses and often conceived in dependence on Christ. The theological analysis of activities related to the Spirit showed that when the Spirit is mentioned in a passive manner, in a vast majority of cases He is specified to be sent and given by Christ or to be what Christ enriches and embellishes the Church with. Logically therefore, *Mystici corporis*' major trinitarian typology is indeed christocentric and the argumentative function of most Spirit-propositions is clarifying.

This conception too one could employ a simplified image, that brings together these traits in a powerful manner. *Mystici corporis* conceives the Spirit as a season worker. In the same way as a season worker's labour is bound to certain peak periods of the year, so is the Spirit's role in *Mystici*

*corporis*. Moreover, a season worker is usually hired for a few jobs, and so too is the Spirit. Finally, a season worker heeds to his boss, and so does the Spirit feature in the context of Christ.





## Chapter 10

### Pneumatological Renewal in *Lumen Gentium* from a Theological-Historical Perspective

The detailed analysis of *Mystici corporis* in the previous chapter was not a goal in itself. Rather it intended to lay the foundations for a precise and factual comparison with the results that came out of my study of the pneumatological entries in *Lumen gentium*. Only at this point is an evaluation of the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* from a theological-historical perspective fully warranted. And even then the matter remains complicated. As the pneumatological approach of each document is uneven, the pneumatology of *Lumen gentium* or *Mystici corporis* is non-existent. Any generalisation cannot be more than a construction. As a consequence, the conclusions of this chapter are heuristic tools that evoke a certain direction rather than to offer a full explanation of the pneumatology of each specific chapter or section.

A first comparison between *Mystici corporis* and *Lumen gentium* reveals that the pneumatologies of the two documents are in some respects remarkably similar. These similarities plead for moderation when it comes to praising the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium*. While *Lumen gentium* features one hundred and eighty-four Spirit-propositions in 17,500 words (the *Nota explicativa praevia* excluded), or ten propositions per 1,000 words, *Mystici corporis* contains one hundred and twenty-eight times in 15,500 words, or eight propositions per 1,000 words. Moreover, both documents have a few articles that stand out for their high number of Spirit-propositions, and both documents tend to refer to the Holy Spirit in subclauses rather than mainclauses, namely in 65% and 73% of the cases.<sup>912</sup>

Further, the two documents share a christocentric conception of the Spirit. For example, while *Mystici corporis* typically states that Christ concluded the founding of the Church by strengthening her with the Holy Spirit, whom the encyclical specified to be “His Spirit” whom “He sent” (MC 32), *Lumen gentium* speaks of Christ who founded the Church “by communicating his Spirit” (LG 7). In both cases, the Spirit has a largely passive role, in the context of Christ, who sends and communicates

---

<sup>912</sup> If one makes that comparison on the basis of references, the difference is even smaller, with in *Lumen gentium* 5.1 Spirit-references per 1,000 words and in *Mystici corporis* 4.6.

the Spirit, and who uses the Spirit as his instrument. That is not only true from the perspective of activities and verbs, but also from the perspective of trinitarian typologies.

Finally, the argumentative analysis revealed that both *Mystici corporis* and *Lumen gentium* tend to mention the Spirit as part of a clarifying ecclesiological argument rather than a foundational one. For although in absolute terms, *Mystici corporis* has an equal number of foundational and clarifying propositions, almost half the number of these foundational propositions are part of two articles, so that for the document as a whole Spirit-propositions have predominantly a clarifying role. For example, both documents refer in their opening article to the Holy Spirit. In a somewhat similar manner, MC 1 extolls the doctrine of the mystical body and LG 1 Christ the light of all the peoples. In the former document, the Spirit is referred to in order to nuance the attractiveness of that doctrine: it does not only by itself draw to contemplation, the Spirit stimulates as well. In the latter document, the Spirit is referred to in a subclause that specifies that the Council, pondering the significance of Christ the light of the peoples, is “gathered in the Holy Spirit”. Thus in both cases, the reference to the Spirit-proposition does not belong to the core of the argument.

At the same time – secondly – the apparent similarity in the pneumatologies of the documents from the perspective of the number of Spirit-propositions does not allow for drawing general theological-historical conclusions as *Mystici corporis* does not reflect the typical (magisterial) ecclesiology at the time. Contemporary commentators did not fail to notice that *Mystici corporis* was exceptionally rich in Spirit-propositions. The Benedictine abbot Theodore Wesseling commented in 1943 that “the Holy Ghost is often left out of the vision of the Mystical Body and, vice versa, the Mystical Body is rarely treated of in books and conferences that speak of the Holy Ghost”; Pius XII’s encyclical was a happy exception to ecclesiological Spirit-forgetfulness.<sup>913</sup> The Dutch seminary professor Leo Smit shared this view. He stated, in translation, “but one thing is remarkable. Most treatises on the mystical body extensively elaborate the relationships between Christ and his Church and usually only in the appendix briefly discuss the Holy Spirit, calling Him the soul of the mystical body. That the Pope does too, but he does not limit himself to it; rather, in the course of the encyclical he returns again and again to the relationships between the Holy Spirit and the mystical body”.<sup>914</sup>

Was the reason for *Mystici corporis*’ exceptional pneumatology that Tromp, the encyclical’s ghost-writer, entertained a particular pneumatological interest? His writings show that he was familiar with and interested in pneumatology. In the 1930s, Tromp issued two small volumes with textual

---

<sup>913</sup> T. Wesseling, “The Encyclical «Mystici Corporis». Summary and commentary”, *Orate Fratres* 17 (1943), 529-537, 535.

<sup>914</sup> L.W.J. Smit, “De Heilige Geest en het mystieke lichaam van Christus”, G. Kreling, A. Mulders, J. Bittremieux, K. Steur (eds.), *Theologische opstellen opgedragen en aangeboden aan Mgr. Dr. G.C. van Noort* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1944), 210-223, 211, cf.: “Eén ding is echter opmerkelijk. De meeste uiteenzettingen over het mystieke Lichaam weiden uit over de betrekkingen van Christus tot zijn kerk en spreken dan eerst gewoonlijk kort en in een aanhangstel over den Heiligen Geest, dien zij de ziel van het mystieke Lichaam noemen. De paus doet dit laatste ook, maar daartoe beperkt hij zich niet, doch telkens opnieuw komt hij in het verloop der geheele encycliek terug op de betrekkingen van den Heiligen Geest met het mystieke Lichaam”.

evidence from the Greek and Latin Church fathers on the notion of the Spirit as soul of the Church.<sup>915</sup> Moreover, from the mid-thirties, Tromp started with a four-volume ecclesiology, the second part of which focused on Christ, the head of the mystical body, and the third part on the Holy Spirit, its soul. Even though these volumes were in fact not published until several years after *Mystici corporis*, the fact that Tromp planned to write not only on Christ but also on the Holy Spirit shows that clearly, he did not neglect the Holy Spirit.<sup>916</sup> Whatever about the reasons for *Mystici corporis*' relatively substantial pneumatology, as *Mystici corporis* is not representative for preconciliar magisterial pneumatology and ecclesiology, the *letter* of the two texts suggests less renewal than its theological-historical context.

Thirdly, *Lumen gentium* features a considerably renewed pneumatology in comparison to *Mystici corporis* amongst others in so far as it has spread out its Spirit-propositions over the document considerably better. While more than two-thirds of *Mystici corporis*' articles have no reference to the Spirit, that is only true for one-fifth of the articles of *Lumen gentium*. Thus *Lumen gentium* has more consistently integrated pneumatology into its ecclesiology.

While the structure of the document suggests that *Lumen gentium* integrated pneumatology better into the reflection and limited it much less to certain ecclesiological topics than *Mystici corporis* did, the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* is especially apparent from the details of the theological analysis. As we have seen, *Lumen gentium* has a more concrete and broader view of the Spirit's involvement in the Church, and it conceives the Spirit subtly differently in relation to the Church. While *Mystici corporis*' pneumatology specifies four major categories of activities, *Lumen gentium* has a broader range of nine types of activities. *Mystici corporis* focuses on the Spirit as principle and source; as dwelling in Christ, the Church and her members; as acting; and as a dynamic influence. In the case of *Lumen gentium*, I listed: to sanctify, to give life, to bring truth, to unite, to lead (both through the hierarchy and charisms), to move, to strengthen, to act or work (in a somewhat abstract manner) and to be involved in Mary.

---

<sup>915</sup> S. Tromp, *De Spiritu Sancto anima Corporis Mystici*. Series I. Testimonia selecta e patribus Graecis. Series II. Testimonia selecta e patribus Latinis (Romae: Apud aedes universitatis Gregorianae, 1932).

<sup>916</sup> See footnote 250. The short section in the third volume on the "Transitus a tractatu de capite ad tractatum de anima" is revealing for Tromp's view of the relationship between Christ and the Spirit. In fact operating within a highly christocentric framework in which the Spirit functions as a reconsideration and an instrument, Tromp speaks first about the close connections between the two treatises and the difficulty to avoid repetitions. Thus Tromp alternates a reconsideration-pneumatology with an instrumental pneumatology and an overlap-pneumatology (for these trinitarian typologies, see chapter 3.3.3 and 9.3.3). He adds to the confusion by introducing in the conclusion still another trinitarian typology when he writes, "from what has so far been noted, it is sufficiently apparent that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit (...) constitutes a complement to the doctrine on Christ the Head, as the concepts *Christus Caput* and *Spiritus Anima* are correlated for various reasons". See Tromp, *De Spiritu Christi anima Corporis Mystici*, 18-19.

*Lumen gentium* is also considerably more specific on what the Spirit's active involvement consists of.<sup>917</sup> While *Mystici corporis* uses only occasionally specific verbs such as to unify or to (hiddenly) lead the Church, *Lumen gentium* uses predominantly specific verbs. For example, while LG 12 claims that the Holy Spirit "sanctifies and leads" the Church, MC 68 links the Holy Spirit to sanctifying in a more abstract manner, calling the Spirit – together with the Father and the Son – the *fons* of "the continual sanctifying of the members of the Body". Moreover, when *Lumen gentium* too speaks in less concrete terms such as the Spirit's "sanctifying power" (LG 15), it is often at least concrete about the addressees, in this case namely the non-Catholic Christians.<sup>918</sup> Or, while both texts speak about "the Spirit of truth", only *Lumen gentium* uses a verb to explicate that the Spirit teaches.<sup>919</sup>

Similarly, *Lumen gentium* speaks more often and in a more concrete manner about the Spirit leading the Church. While *Lumen gentium* mentions the Spirit's leading four times, *Mystici corporis* does so only once. LG 4 states that the Spirit "instructs and directs (*instruit and dirigit*) the Church through a variety of gifts both hierarchical and charismatic" and LG 12 claims "that the Holy Spirit sanctifies and guides (*ducit*) the people of God" in a similar context. Further, according to LG 4, the Spirit "leads the Church to perfect union with her bride (*viz., Christ, JM*) (*ad consummatam cum Sponso suo unionem perducit*)", and according to LG 43 the hierarchy oversees the religious life under the lead of the Spirit (*duce Spiritu Sancto*). *Mystici corporis* speaks about the Spirit who hiddenly leads the Church (MC 69). *Lumen gentium* does not only speak more frequently about the Spirit's leading role, it uses the more direct verb *ducere* where *Mystici corporis* uses the indirect words *arcanam gubernationem sumere*. Finally, *Lumen gentium* specifies that it has to do with hierarchy and charisms (LG 4, LG 12), with the hierarchy's overseeing of the religious life (LG 43) and in relation to eschatology (LG 4), *Mystici corporis* does not specify an addressee (MC 69).<sup>920</sup>

Another difference consists in the articulation of the Spirit's addressee. For in so far as both documents refer to the faithful as addressee of the Spirit, *Mystici corporis* often uses the word *membra* and *Lumen gentium* has a preference for the word *fideles*. In addition, in so far as *Mystici corporis* specifies the Church to be the addressee of the Spirit, the encyclical may in fact mean the hierarchy,

<sup>917</sup> An earlier version of what follows was published in the *Festschrift* for Henk Witte, see J. Moons, "A Pneumatological Conversion? The Holy Spirit's Activities According to *Lumen Gentium*", S. van Erp, K. Schelkens (eds.), *Conversion and Church. The Challenge of Ecclesial Renewal* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 244-260.

<sup>918</sup> Cf. LG 15: "quaedam in Spiritu Sancto coniunctio, quippe qui (Spiritus, JM) donis et gratiis etiam in illis sua virtute sanctificante operatur". Cf. the proposition that those hearing the gospel accept it because of the Spirit's work in LG 19.

<sup>919</sup> See MC 56 (*veritatis flamine*), MC 69 and 103 (*Spiritus veritatis*), and LG 12 and 25 (*Spiritus veritatis*). According to LG 4, "the Spirit leads the Church into all truth"; LG 12 speaks about the supernatural "sense of the faith" (*sensus fidei*) that is aroused and sustained by the Spirit of truth; LG 25 explains that the Spirit of truth enlightens the Church to preserve the truth; and LG 53 nuances that the Church is "taught by the Holy Spirit" to honour Mary.

<sup>920</sup> Cf. MC 69, "Quemadmodum enim divinus Redemptor Paraclitum misit veritatis Spiritum, qui suas partes agens (cfr. Io. 14, 16 et 26), arcanam sumeret Ecclesiae gubernationem, ita Petro eiusque Successoribus mandavit, ut suam in terris gerentes personam perspicibilem quoque christianae reipublicae moderationem agerent".

the mystical dimension of the Church, or the faithful. In *Lumen gentium* however, when the Spirit is related to the Church, the Constitution means: the faithful. Thus pneumatological differences are tied to and betray ecclesiological differences.

To return to the simplified yet powerful images introduced in the conclusions of chapters three and nine, both *Lumen gentium*'s VIP Spirit who is seated on the second row and *Mystici corporis*' Season Worker Spirit feature in christocentric contexts and have clarifying rather than foundational argumentative roles. Yet while the VIP Spirit is actively present in most of the reflection and has a concrete role that covers a broad range of activities, the Season Worker is only occasionally part of the reflection, and with a less concrete role.

Fourthly a reconsideration of the typical preconciliar pneumatology as sketched in chapter eight confirms this nuanced view of pneumatological renewal. Generally speaking, the christocentric approach (chapter 8.1) remained in place. At the same time, the fact that *Lumen gentium* spread out its Spirit-references throughout the document – and not in some articles, as *Mystici corporis* – suggests that *Lumen gentium* is considerably less Christomonistic. In addition, the issue of LG 4's pneumatological style challenged the prevailing approach to appropriation, in favour of more trinitarian typologies (cf. chapter 8.4). Further, the hierarchy-centered view of the Spirit's involvement in the Church (chapter 8.2) was challenged by the introduction of the category of charisms. At the same time, that notion was everything but integrated into the reflection,<sup>921</sup> and the number of Spirit-propositions in the chapter on the hierarchy compared to the chapter on the laity and the religious suggests that hierarchy-centered pneumatology has everything but disappeared. Thirdly, the notion of the Spirit as soul of the Church (chapter 8.3) did not disappear but lost its significance, undoubtedly because *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology did not focus on the mystical body metaphor. Moreover, the Spirit's involvement by means of indwelling and sanctification (chapter 8.4) was reconceived. For the Spirit was conceived as supporting the faithful both for their own sanctification and for the upbuilding of the Church, as the notion of charisms implied, as did the notion of *sensus fidelium*.

Finally, so far I have focused on the textual details of pneumatological renewal. Yet for establishing pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* from a theological-historical perspective, one should also consider the underlying intentions and convictions. Only then is it possible to make a claim on the deliberate pneumatological change for the better (O'Malley) in theological-historical perspective. Such an exploration is beyond the setup of Part III, but in the General Conclusions I will make some comments on this matter.

---

<sup>921</sup> That statement I have developed in J. Moons, "«The Holy Spirit Leads the Church through Charismas» (LG 12). The Conciliar Doctrine on Charisma and its Significance for the Laity's Active Involvement in the Church", A. Mayer (ed.), *The Letter and the Spirit: On the Forgotten Documents of Vatican II* (Leuven: Peeters, 233-245).



## General Conclusions

The Second Vatican Council has both been praised and criticized for its pneumatological renewal. Some scholars welcomed it as a pneumatological breakthrough, some criticized its shortcomings, and most did both. Since the amount of detailed investigations into the precise nature of this renewal is quite small (see chapter one), in this thesis I set out to explore just how *Lumen gentium* (re)imagined the Holy Spirit. In order to avoid sweeping statements, positive or negative, that lack a textual basis, I have done this on the basis of structural, theological and argumentative details of the text, with an attention to redaction-historical developments and theological-historical differences. As such a detailed investigation requires depth rather than breadth, I have narrowed down the scope of the research to representative cases. For a start, I did not study the entire corpus of conciliar documents, but I have explored only one document, *Lumen gentium*. Within that constitution, I have focused on two crucial articles, LG 4 and LG 48. Further I have compared *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology with what is generally considered to be the major magisterial ecclesiological text from the preconciliar era, the encyclical *Mystici corporis*. On the basis of these restrictions, it is safe now to summarize my findings and to make a couple of evaluative comments. Arguably *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology represents a modest yet promising step forward in overcoming *Geistvergessenheit*.

On the one hand, the detailed explorations in the previous chapters reveal that the Spirit's ecclesiological prominence increased in more than one aspect. For example, *Lumen gentium*'s Spirit-focused opening article LG 4 was originally not part of the text and the opening article of the chapter on eschatology LG 48 did originally not feature any references to the Spirit. Further *Lumen gentium* is by any means more consistent in referring to the Holy Spirit than *Mystici corporis*. In addition, the conciliar Constitution specifies the Spirit's active involvement in the life of the Church in a manner that is both more specific and broader than *Mystici corporis*. The two articles LG 4 and LG 12 can be safely said to stand out for imagining the Spirit as a subject of important aspects of the Church rather than as a mere instrument of Christ's involvement with the Church. This in itself warrants the idea that pneumatology has changed. Unsurprisingly, the Spirit-propositions in LG 4 and LG 12 have a foundational argumentative significance. With an image, thus the Season Worker Spirit of *Mystici corporis* became a VIP Spirit in *Lumen gentium*, albeit often with a seat on the second row.

On the other hand, the detailed explorations in the previous chapters also reveal the limitations of the document's pneumatological renewal and thus plead for a nuanced assessment of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatological change for the better. These limitations include the still uneven distribution of Spirit-propositions over *Lumen gentium*'s chapters and articles and the fact that Spirit-propositions generally play the role of clarifying clauses, and therefore do not necessarily have a foundational



argumentative significance. The difference in pneumatological conception between LG 4 and LG 48 too may stand as a warning against overstating the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium*, for the former imagined the Spirit in complementarity with the Father and the Son, and the latter not.

The perspective of the spirit of the text, or its background, adds to the ambivalence, for it reveals that the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* can only to a limited extent be qualified as a deliberate improvement. There is no reason for supposing that the redaction-historical renewal that LG 4 and LG 48 represent originates from a broadly shared pneumatological concern. As we saw in chapter 5.2, although some Council fathers did comment on fact that the first draft featured opening articles to the Father and the Son, most Council fathers did not. In addition, various alternative drafts including the one by Philips for which the Doctrinal Commission opted featured similar binitarian introductions. In relation to LG 48, something similar can be said. As we saw in chapter 6.2, only two Council fathers criticized the chapter's pneumatological poverty. Moreover, only one Council father – Archbishop Ziadé – saw this as a fundamental issue; Abbot Butler remarked that it was “not difficult” to improve the weakness he had detected. In addition, there is no reason for supposing a single-minded, generally shared pneumatological concern. For in so far as Council fathers did speak about the Spirit, their views differed. Some stood by LG 4's pneumatological style, others protested against it. Some imagined Pentecost in relation to the hierarchy, some in relation to all the faithful. Some opted for an exclusively hierarchy-related view of charisms, some for an inclusive view. And in relation to LG 48, Ziadé considered the absence of Spirit-propositions a fundamental issue, Butler considered it an issue that was easy to resolve. Further, we have seen that redaction-historical developments may well stem from other than theological motives, especially conciliar and editorial ones. For example, the pneumatological style of LG 4 may well express conciliar and editorial convictions rather than a trinitarian-theological conviction in relation to appropriation. Indeed we have seen that a trinitarian-theological discussion never took place and was even actively avoided by Philips. The case of LG 48 casts doubt about theological motives as what the text actually states differs from the theological intention articulated in the *relatio*. Finally the theological-historical parallels between *Lumen gentium* and *Mystici corporis* are larger than they are often thought to be. Both documents have a clearly shared christocentric framework. This too nuances the extent of the pneumatological renewal.

How to evaluate these findings? How does *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatological renewal contribute to overcoming the so-called *Geistvergessenheit*? In the first place, while my conclusions are to a large extent identical to those by the moderate voices, the unique contribution of this investigation is to provide a method for exploring pneumatological renewal and, on the basis that method, to produce a factual account of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatological renewal. This method enables not only to unpack the general term pneumatological renewal and to specify what pneumatological renewal is going on, it also helps to identify ways of moving forward. Thus these findings substantiate the

hitherto intuitive rather than systematically-researched observations about the Council's pneumatological renewal.

In the second place, what does the narrow-focused research that I have conducted suggest for *Lumen gentium* and its pneumatological renewal at large? Generally speaking, it seems that *Lumen gentium* at the same time strives to include the Holy Spirit in the reflection and is unsure how to do so. That explains why the christocentric opening article LG 1 is followed by a trinitarian reflection in LG 2-4 and why the doxological formula concluding both LG 47 and the chapter on the religious can speak in a similarly ambiguous way of “the greater glory of the one and undivided Trinity, which in Christ and through Christ is the source and origin of all holiness”. In some cases, Christ's and the Spirit's work seem identical or overlapping, such as in some propositions in LG 7, and in other cases, the Spirit has no more than an instrumental role in the context of Christ, such as in the first Spirit-propositions in LG 9; this starkly contrasts with the bold pneumatology in LG 4. As these propositions too are the fruit of pneumatological renewal, in the same way as LG 4's, they demonstrate that the Council did not operate with a consistent, well-argued pneumatology; rather, pneumatological renewal seems a practical matter, depending on which texts are available and what quick improvements can be made. Indeed, the redaction history of LG 48 proves that in some cases, the Spirit was integrated into an existing reflection without fundamentally modifying it. Again, that both demonstrates the wish to include the Spirit and reveals the superficial rather than fundamental improvement of the text. In other cases, such as the chapter on the laity, the Council fathers seem to have forgotten to upgrade the text pneumatologically, as this chapter mentions the Spirit only in two out of its nine articles. Similarly the chapter on the religious is dominated by a hierarchy-focused view of the Spirit that seems to echo preconciliar pneumatology, as two of the three Spirit-references discuss the Spirit's involvement in the hierarchy who lead the religious, and only one reference concerns the Spirit's work in the religious. A similar mindset is visible in the chapter on the hierarchy's Spirit-propositions. In short, *Lumen gentium* is only to a limited extent pneumatologically aware. There are no indications for a well-reflected, consistently deployed pneumatology.

Thirdly, what is the significance of the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* for overcoming *Geistvergessenheit*? As we have seen, the term *Geistvergessenheit* applies not only when Spirit-references are lacking but also when the references to the Spirit are situated in the shadow of references to Christ (see the General Introduction). Put this way, the brief overview of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology and its renewal in the previous section suggest that the conciliar doctrine still suffers of *Geistvergessenheit* in the latter form. The results of the redaction-historical and theological-historical explorations help to explain these disappointing traits of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology by pointing out that a limited number of Council fathers were involved, that the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* can only to a limited extent be called deliberate, that other than theological motives played a role, and so forth. In the light of these observations I would like to demythologize the importance of the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* for overcoming *Geistvergessenheit*.

Should we conclude therefore that the Council made little real advance? In order to offer a nuanced appraisal of these observations, I will take these conclusions a step further and offer two further evaluative considerations, both of which discuss what O'Malley called issues under the issues. In the introduction to his widely acclaimed study *What Happened at Vatican II* he introduced this category to distinguish between well-known “upfront issues” and “issues under the issues” that, hidden under the surface, may be less visible but that explain the depth of the upfront issues.<sup>922</sup> This distinction invites to delve deeper when attempting to understand and evaluate the pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium*. It stimulates to search beyond the various concrete issues such as the place of Spirit-propositions in the various chapters and articles of the document, trinitarian-theological typologies and argumentative significance. In what follows I would like to suggest two of such issues under the issues and argue that these help to evaluate *Lumen gentium*'s contribution to overcoming *Geistvergessenheit*.

The first of these hidden issues is the ecclesiological framework of *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology. How the Spirit is conceived and how that conception undergoes renewal depends not only on Christology or on pneumatology itself. To a large extent, it depends upon the broader theological context. It can be argued that precisely in this regard *Lumen gentium* represents a major step forward in overcoming *Geistvergessenheit*. This claim is best warranted by comparing the diverging ecclesiological agendas of *Mystici corporis* and *Lumen gentium*.

As we have seen, *Mystici corporis* had a double agenda. Addressing the Church's transcendent dimension by relating the Church to Christ by means of the metaphor of the mystical body of Christ, it also strongly advocated the Church's visible hierarchical dimension. As a consequence, whatever happens in the Church depends either on Christ as the Church's divine founder and transcendent sustainer, or on the Church's hierarchy as representative of Christ in so far as the visible government of the Church is concerned. That leaves only space for occasional and abstract references to the Holy Spirit.

Admittedly, *Lumen gentium* too speaks about the mystical body of Christ, especially in LG 7-8. These articles explain that the body has Christ as its head and that it is a both earthly and transcendent reality, both human and divine. The three references in LG 7-8 to *Mystici corporis* symbolise that there is a connection between the two documents.<sup>923</sup> Moreover, both *Lumen gentium*

---

<sup>922</sup> O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 8, cf. 5-14. Having briefly identified some of the main issues of the Council such as Latin in the liturgy, Scripture and Tradition, religious liberty and episcopal collegiality, O'Malley wondered: “As we travel through the council's story and examine the documents Vatican II left as its most palpable legacy, these are the issues that emerge most clearly and characteristically. They are the upfront issues. But can we go deeper? Are there issues under the issues, issues of which these were a surface manifestation?”. He suggested three such issues: change in the church; the way authority is shared between the Pope and others, especially bishops; and the pastoral style of that authority.

<sup>923</sup> The first of these links LG 7's “soul of the Church” proposition with MC 55. The second reference supports LG 8's view on the visible nature of the Church with MC 14. The third reference is related to LG 8's teaching on the Church's unity of two natures or elements, human and divine. It would be interesting to evaluate these quotes. Do these three faithfully

and *Mystici corporis* conceive the Church in a Christological framework. For example, in the same way as *Mystici corporis* stresses that the Church is called after Christ, LG 1 situates the Church in the context of Christ, the light of the peoples.<sup>924</sup> Similarly, both documents call the Spirit after Christ, *Spiritus suus* and *Spiritus Christi*.

However, the similarities themselves manifest significant differences with possibly great implications for the Spirit's role in the Church. While *Mystici corporis* tends to identify Christ, the mystical body, the hierarchy and the Church, *Lumen gentium* consistently distinguishes between these. Therefore in *Lumen gentium*, only Christ is explicitly called the head of the body, and not the hierarchy. In addition, *Lumen gentium* is slightly more reserved on identifying the mystical body of Christ with the Roman Catholic Church by using *subsistit in* rather than *est*,<sup>925</sup> and *Lumen gentium* is able to acknowledge elements of truth outside the Roman Catholic Church, which *Mystici corporis* does not and cannot do.<sup>926</sup> To this comes the fact that the mystical body is not the core of *Lumen gentium*'s ecclesiology; it uses more and other concepts and metaphors than only the mystical body, especially the Church as mystery and sacrament, as the people of God on pilgrimage (that therefore is typically eschatological), and the Church as communion. Moreover, it highlights other aspects of the Church, such as the communion the Church is, which is barely developed in *Mystici corporis*, or the eschatological reality of the Church.<sup>927</sup>

These concrete ecclesiological differences point to another, fundamentally different mindset or spirit: *Lumen gentium*'s approach to the Church is radically focused on the trinitarian mystery as its ultimate foundation and therefore less hierarchy-centered. In this regard, the Constitution's opening

---

represent *Mystici corporis*' view on the mystical body theology? And do the references in fact support the statement they are meant to support?

<sup>924</sup> I may recall that LG 1 was originally meant to be a preface to the Constitution rather than the opening article of the first chapter.

<sup>925</sup> Karim Schelkens argues on the basis of historical-genetical evidence that the change is not only deliberate but also meaningful. See K. Schelkens, "Andermaal *subsistit in*. Historische voetnoot bij een lopend debat", *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 57 (2017), 256-271, esp. 260-263, cf. K. Schelkens, "*Lumen gentium*'s «*subsistit in*» revisited: the Catholic Church and Christian unity after Vatican II", *Theological Studies* 69 (2008), 875-893.

<sup>926</sup> For some first signs of openness in this regard, see the Instruction "Ecclesia Catholica" by the Holy Office, *AAS* 42 (1950), 142-147 and cf. the condemnation of Leonard Feeney's strict interpretation of *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* in "A Letter from the Holy Office", *American Ecclesiastical Review* 127 (1952), 307-315. For background, see F. Sullivan, *Salvation Outside the Church? Tracing the History of the Catholic Response* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992) and G. Zuijdwegt, "Salvation and the Church. Feeney, Fenton and the Making of *Lumen Gentium*", *Louvain Studies* 37 (2013), 147-178.

<sup>927</sup> Tromp acknowledged the absence of these themes. In a clarifying note to MC 1's reference to "the Church militant", he explained that the encyclical did not reflect on the "heavenly Church of the saints and the angels, nor on the Church in purification". He then continued to claim (amongst others) that nonetheless, MC 88 discussed the communion of saints, and that MC 110-111 discussed Mary. See Tromp, *Litterae encyclicae de mystico Iesu Christi corpore*, 80.

words are revealing, for according to LG 1, not the Church is the light of the peoples – as the text read originally – but Christ:

Lumen gentium cum sit Christus, haec Sacrosancta Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto congregata, omnes homines claritate Eius, super faciem Ecclesiae resplendente, illuminare vehementer exoptat, omni creaturae Evangelium annuntiando (cf. Mc 16,15).

This was a deliberate change; in his diary Philips revealed that he had tacitly changed the focus of the title from the Church to Christ.<sup>928</sup> Thus the Church's calling is not to be the light of the peoples, but to pass it on after it has first received the light, that is, Christ. Therefore, too, she is ultimately conceived from the perspective of unity with God the Father, in the company of the saints, as the chapter on eschatology does. The more radical theological approach bears significant consequences for conceiving the institutional and hierarchical dimension of the Church. Obviously, *Lumen gentium* does not forget that the Church has a concrete, historical dimension, but the Church's historical reality is primarily conceived theologically, as the people of God. Furthermore, because the institutional dimension of the Church comes second, after her theological depth, the Church has holiness as *finalité*, not obedience.

This ecclesiological shift is rich in Christological and, to a lesser extent, pneumatological consequences. *Lumen gentium* did not need to safeguard space for the hierarchy by linking Christ almost exclusively to the transcendent realm; rather, Christ was conceived as actually leading the Church. Occasionally, *Lumen gentium*'s pneumatology too benefitted from the more radically theological view of the Church. Especially articles LG 4 and LG 12-C testify to this in a compelling manner. LG 4 is uniquely bold in articulating the Spirit's involvement in the Church. So too is LG 12 in stating that it is the Holy Spirit who "sanctifies and guides the people of God" and "adorns it with

---

<sup>928</sup> Schelkens, *Carnets Conciliaires*, 98, "La phrase initiale proclame que c'est, non l'Église mais le Christ qui est la lumière du monde: l'Église n'en est qu'un reflêt. J'ai tacitement changé ainsi le titre proposé par le cardinal Suenens". Suenens had indeed proposed as overall theme for the Constitution "Ecclesia Christi, lumen gentium" and suggested that this was what John XXIII wanted, *AS* I/4, 222. Indeed, in his radio address on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1962, John XXIII had spoken about "Lumen Christi, Ecclesia Christi, Lumen gentium", yet in the context of the Council in general, not of ecclesiology. The German-Austrian schema's opening words "*Lumen gentium* cum sit Ecclesia" (*AS* I/4, 601-639, at 610, cf. 614) were inspired by this address; they form the basis for LG 1. Cf. the Coordinating Commission's wish to restructure the ecclesiological document under "one central idea, namely the Church as light of the peoples", thus Tromp in his "Relatio Secretarii" (February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1963), von Teuffenbach (ed.), *Konzilstagebuch Tromp*, vol. 2, 806. The change from Church to Christ occurred around the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1963, see Philips' copy of the *Schema Germanicum* on which he noted that date and in which he crossed out "Ecclesia", replacing it "Christ", CSVII, Philips Archive, no. 585, cf. the 20-2-1963 draft, CSVII, Philips Archive, no. 592. Philips testifies that on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1963, the Doctrinal Commission accepted the text without much difficulty, Schelkens, *Carnets Conciliaires*, 98. Yet when presenting the new draft on the Church at the beginning of the Second Period Ottaviani spoke – naively or stubbornly? – of the Church as the light of the peoples, cf. his opening words: "When dealing with the Church, the light of the peoples, ... (*Acturi de Ecclesia, lumine gentium*)", *AS* II/1, 337.

virtues”, through ministry as well as through charisms that He “distributes”. Thus ecclesiological renewal was crucially important for moving forward in overcoming *Geistvergessenheit*. Because *Lumen gentium*’s ecclesiology conceived any real involvement in the Church not exclusively transcendently from Christ and concretely from the hierarchy, as *Mystici corporis* did, but in a more radically theological manner, its ecclesiology allowed space for the type of bold and concrete articulation of the Spirit’s active involvement in the Church seen in LG 4 and LG 12.

Yet there is a second issue under the issues, and one that is of paramount significance for overcoming ecclesiology-related *Geistvergessenheit*, namely the set-up and content of trinitarian theology. While a more radically theological approach to the Church creates space for thinking an actual divine involvement in the Church, the articulation of that divine involvement has to do with trinitarian theology rather than ecclesiology. An important aspect of that trinitarian set-up is the appropriation rule. Indeed, as we saw in chapter 5.2, when Philips integrated the Chilean text which articulated the Spirit’s role in a bold manner in complementarity with Christ’s into the draft on the Church, the text was challenged precisely for violating the *ad extra* rule which states that salvation-historical activities can only be attributed or appropriated to one of the divine persons; ultimately they are common to the Trinity, except for the incarnation. Designed for protecting against tritheism, that rule should be complemented with another rule that highlights divine threeness, as Heribert Mühlen suggested. Recalling the axiom of the Council of Florence “in Deo omnia sunt unum, ubi non obviat relationis oppositio”, that focused on God’s oneness, Mühlen proposed to add another axiom that highlighted the threeness of God: “in Deo omnia sunt tria, ubi non obviat unitas essentiae”.<sup>929</sup> It seems that such a proposal would create the space for developing a bold pneumatology in the style of LG 4 and LG 12. In this respect it is noteworthy that the *ad extra* rule was used against LG 4’s bold pneumatology but not against articles with a bold Christology. It suggests that Mühlen’s proposal will only work on the condition of developing a more modest Christology that allows space for pneumatology.

Still, while this proposal creates the space for a bold pneumatology, it does not yet provide it with content. In other words, the problem is not only external to pneumatology, in the *ad extra* rule and in christocentrism, it is also a problem of pneumatology itself. For if the Spirit’s active involvement in the Church is articulated more boldly, in complementarity with Christ’s, what does the Spirit do? What difference does the Spirit make? How are Christ’s and the Spirit’s functions distinctive, and how to avoid that one becomes the *vicair*e of the other (see chapter 8.1)? Therefore, the issue of the set-up of trinitarian theology includes a rather concrete dimension: what does the Spirit do? It seems as though we do not know how to conceive the Spirit’s significance, so that mentioning

---

<sup>929</sup> Mühlen, *Der Heilige Geist als Person*, 306-329, 306, cf. “Wir werden im folgenden zu zeigen versuchen, daß es entsprechend seiner Herkunft von Anselm von Canterbury her ergänzt werden kann und muß durch die dialectische Entsprechung: In Deo omnia sunt tria, ubi non obviat unitas essentiae. Der erwähnte Satz des Konzils von Florenz macht in diesem Sinne nur *einen* Aspekt der lateinischen Trinitätslehre sichtbar”.

the Spirit without too much stress is the best we can do. In that respect, the analysis by the former archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, is most illuminating. Claiming that until this day “theologies of the Spirit have generally suffered as a result of the predominance of one kind of trinitarian model in the formative ages of Christian reflection”,<sup>930</sup> he explained that Christ is usually seen as the mediating agency between the two distant realities of God the Father and the world, so that it is rather unsure where to situate the Holy Spirit. To remedy this, Williams proposed another trinitarian model in which the Spirit is conceived as bringing about or being present in a certain life-style rather than applying what Christ did, or instructing in his name. Williams thereby implies that *Geistvergessenheit* is overcome by practically living the life of the Spirit as well as intellectually developing pneumatology.

To confirm these tentative overall conclusions, and for a fuller picture of the Council’s pneumatological renewal in and beyond *Lumen gentium*, the research conducted in this thesis should be broadened in various respects, e.g. by delving into remarkable articles such as LG 12’s teaching on *sensus fidei* and charisms. For does the ecclesiological shifts underlying the inclusive conception of *sensus fidei*, that has received ample attention, correspond to a similar pneumatological one?<sup>931</sup> And what is the background of the bold pneumatology in the teaching on the Spirit who leads the Church through charisms?<sup>932</sup> Other questions relate to the chapter on the religious; why does it feature so few references to the Holy Spirit’s work in the religious themselves? In addition, the scope should be broadened to include other documents and other pneumatological topics, notably the Spirit’s working before the Christian era, in the ecumenical movement, in each human being and in the world and its history at large (cf. General Introduction). Moreover, as renewal is only realised in so far as it is received: how is the Spirit seen in the post-conciliar era, e.g. in Pope John Paul II’s 1986 encyclical *Dominum et vivificantem* that deals precisely with “the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church and the world”, as the title reads? Do magisterial documents and theologians notice the unique pneumatology of LG 4 and LG 12, and do their reflections feature a similarly bold pneumatology? And what about the magisterial teaching on charisms, that is taken up especially in relation the charismatic renewal, and the teaching on *sensus fidei*, for which the 2014 document “Sensus Fidei in the Life of the Church” by the International Theological Commission meant a fresh impulse? Or how do the practice and theology of potentially pneumatological topics such as episcopal collegiality and synodality develop? Finally, my last two ‘issue-under-the-issue’ comments suggest that two fundamental issues

---

<sup>930</sup> R. Williams, “Word and Spirit”, R. Williams, *On Christian Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 107-127, 109; originally published in German in K. Kremkau (ed.), *Das Religiöse Bewusstsein und der Heilige Geist in der Kirche* (Frankfurt: Lembeck, 1980), 77-94.

<sup>931</sup> That is my argument in Moons, “«Aroused and sustained by the Holy Spirit»? A Plea for a Pneumatological Reconsideration of *Sensus Fidei* on the Basis of *Lumen Gentium* 12”.

<sup>932</sup> Cf. my observations about the theological depth of this teaching, viz., that the Spirit is not only stated to give charisms but also to act through them, see Moons, “«The Holy Spirit Leads the Church through Charisms» (LG 12). The Conciliar Doctrine on Charisma and its Significance for the Laity’s Active Involvement in the Church”, 237-238.

that need to be worked on are the relationship between pneumatology and ecclesiology and pneumatology and trinitarian theology and Christology in particular.

Thus this exploration of pneumatological renewal in *Lumen gentium* both answers questions and opens new ones. May the Holy Spirit, whom we invoke as *pater pauperum*, *dator munerum*, *lumen cordium*, inspire all who through their thinking or action build up the Church and contribute to the Kingdom of God.





# Bibliography

## Frequently Used Ecclesial Documents

*Acta et documenta Concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando; series prima (antepreparatoria)* (1960-1961). Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis. Abbreviated as *ADA*.

*Acta et documenta Concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando; series secunda (praeparatoria)* (1964-1993). Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis. Abbreviated as *ADP*.

*Acta synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II* (1970-1999). Città del Vaticano: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis. Abbreviated as *AS*.

*Encyclical Letter (Mystici Corporis Christi)* (1951). trans. G.D. Smith. London: Catholic Truth Society.

*Lumen gentium*. Cl. Gallagher (transl.). N. Tanner (ed.) (1990). *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. 2 vols. Washington: Georgetown University Press, vol. 2, 849-898.

Pius XII (1943). “Mystici corporis. Literae encyclicae ad venerabiles fratres patriarchas, primates, archiepiscopos, episcopos aliosque locorum ordinarios pacem et communionem cum apostolica sede habentes: de mystico Iesu Christi corpore deque nostra in eo cum Christo coniunctione”. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 35, 193-248. Abbreviated as *MC*.

## Bibliography

Aagaard, A.M. (1972). “Helligånden i Konkildokumenterne. Et Arbejdsmateriale”. *Lumen, katolsk teologisk tidsskrift* 15/43, 54-76.

Abbott, W. (1966). *The Documents of Vatican II. With Notes and Comments by Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Authorities*. London: G. Chapman.

Acerbi, A. (1975). *Due ecclesiologie: ecclesiologia giuridica ed ecclesiologia di comunione nella «Lumen gentium»*. Bologna: Edizione Dehoniane.

Alberigo, G., Magistretti, F. (eds.) (1975). *Constitutionis dogmaticae Lumen gentium synopsis historica*. Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose.

Alberigo, G., Carl, Cl. (2013). “Parente, Pietro”. Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 205-206.

Alberigo, G., Komonchak, J.A. (eds.) (1995-2006). *History of Vatican II*. 5 vols. Leuven: Peeters.

Antonelli, C. (2009). *Il dibattito su Maria nel Concilio Vaticano II. Percorso redazionale sulla base di nuovi documenti di archivio*. pref. L. Declerck. Padova: Messaggero di Sant’ Antonio.

Aranda, M., Arenas, S. (eds.) (2014). *Ecclesiam Dei. Propuesta de Chile en el proceso de elaboración del Documento sobre la Iglesia del Concilio Vaticano II. Texto Original, Traducción, su Historia y sus Autores*. Santiago: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

Aubert, R. (1954). *La théologie catholique au milieu du XXe siècle*. Tournai: Casterman.

Aubert, R. (1960). “La géographie ecclésiologique au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle”. Nédoncelle, Evdimokov, Aubert (ed.). *L’ecclésiologie au XIXe siècle*, 11-55.

Aubert, R. (1969). “Die Theologie während der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts”. Vorgrimler, Vander Gucht (eds.), *Bilanz der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, 7-70.

Baraúna, G. (ed.) (1966). *De Kerk van Vaticanum II. Commentaren op de concilieconstitutie over de kerk*. 2 vols.. Bilthoven: Nelissen. Translation of G. Baraúna (1965), *A Igreja do Concilio Vaticano Segundo*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Vozes.

Basilus von Cäsarea (1993). *De Spiritu Sancto. Über den heiligen Geist*. Freiburg: Herder.

Begzos, M. (2010). “Nissiotis, Nikos”. Ernesti, Thönissen (eds.). *Personenlexikon Ökumene*, 162-163.

Bluett, J.J. (1942). “The Mystical Body of Christ: 1890-1940”. *Theological Studies* 3, 261-289.

Bordeianu, R. (2018). “Orthodox Observers at the Second Vatican Council and Intra-Orthodox Dynamics”. *Theological Studies* 79, 86-106.

- Boulding, M.C. (1985). "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Documents of Vatican II". *Irish Theological Quarterly* 51, 253-267.
- Bouyer, L. (1948). "Chronique d'histoire de la théologie contemporaine. Où en est la théologie du corps mystique?". *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 22, 313-333.
- Breuning, W. (1970). "Pneumatologie". Vorgrimler, Vander Gucht (eds.). *Bilanz der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3, 120-126.
- Capovilla, L. (ed.) (1964). *Journal of a Soul*. London: G. Chapman. (Originally in Italian.)
- Carl, C., Trippen, N. (2013). "Frings, Josef". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 110-111.
- Cazelles, H. (1968). "Le Saint Esprit dans les textes de Vatican II". P. Evdokimov, H. Cazelles, A. Greiner (eds.). *Le mystère de l'Esprit-Saint*. Tours: Mame, 161-186.
- Chantraine, G. (1983). "L'enseignement de Vatican II concernant l'Esprit Saint". Martins (ed.). *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, 993-1010.
- Charue, A.-M. (1969). "Le Saint-Esprit dans «Lumen Gentium»". *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* 45, 358-379.
- Cislaghi, G. (2004). *Per una ecclesiologia pneumatologica. Il Concilio Vaticano II e una proposta sistematica*. Milano: Edizione Glossa.
- Coffey, D. (2005). *«Did You Receive the Holy Spirit When You Believed?» Some Basic Questions for Pneumatology*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press.
- Coggi, R. (1978). "Lo Spirito Santo nella costituzione dogmatica Lumen Gentium del Concilio Vaticano II". *Sacra Doctrina* 23, 133-153.
- Comblin, J. (1970). "Die katholische Theologie seit dem Ende des Pontificats Pius' XII". Vorgrimler, Vander Gucht (eds.). *Bilanz der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, 70-90.
- Congar, Y. (1947). "Bulletin d'Écclesiologie (1939-1946)". *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 31, 77-96.
- Congar, Y. (1953). "Le Saint-Esprit et le Corps apostolique, réalisateurs de l'œuvre du Christ". Y. Congar. *Esquisses du mystère de l'Église*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.. Paris: Le Cerf, 129-179. First published in *Revue de sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 36, 613-625.
- Congar, Y. (1960). "L'ecclésiologie de la Révolution Française au Concile du Vatican, sous le signe de l'affirmation de l'autorité". Nédoncelle, Evdymkov, Aubert (eds.). *L'ecclésiologie au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 77-114.
- Congar, Y. (1965). *Le Concile au jour le jour. Troisième Session*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Congar, Y. (1965). "The Church: The People of God". *Concilium. International Journal of Theology* 1/1, 11-37.
- Congar, Y. (1970). "Pneumatologie ou «Christomonisme» dans la tradition latine?". Gesché, Schruers, Coppens (eds.). *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta*, 41-63.
- Congar, Y. (1971). *Die Lehre von der Kirche. Vom Abenländischen Schisma bis zur Gegenwart*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Congar, Y. (1975). *Un peuple messianique. L'Église, sacrement du salut. Salut et libération*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Congar, Y. (1979-1980). *Je crois en l'Esprit-Saint*. 3 vols. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Congar, Y. (1982). "Les implications Christologiques et pneumatologiques de l'ecclésiologie de Vatican II". G. Alberigo (ed.). *Les Églises après Vatican II. Dynamisme et prospective. Actes du Colloque international de Bologne 1980*. Paris: Beauchesne, 117-130.
- Congar, Y. (1983). "Actualité de la Pneumatologie". Martins (ed.). *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, 15-28.
- Congar, Y. (2002). *Mon journal du concile*. 2 vols.. É. Mahieu (ed.). Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Congar, Y. (2010). *La parole et le souffle. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de la relecture de Rémi Chéno*. Paris: Mame-Desclée.
- Congar, Y., Küng, H., O'Hanlon, D. (eds.) (1964). *Council Speeches of Vatican II*. London: Sheed and Ward.
- Coppens, J. (1970). "Monseigneur Gérard Philips. Sa carrière et son œuvre". Gesché, Schruers, Coppens (eds.), *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta*, xi-xvi.

- Danz, C., Murrmann-Kahl, M. (eds.) (2014). *Zwischen Geistvergessenheit und Geistversessenheit. Perspektiven der Pneumatologie im 21. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- D'Costa, G. (2014). *Vatican II. Catholic Doctrines on Jews and Muslims*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Lubac, H. (1949). *Corpus mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Age*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.. Paris: Aubier.
- De Mey, P. (2011). "Church Renewal and Reform in the Documents of Vatican II. History, Theology, Terminology". *The Jurist* 71, 369-400.
- De Mey, P. (2012). "Auf dem Weg zu einer konkreten Communio-Gestalt der Kirche. 50 Jahre *Lumen Gentium*". *Theologische Revue* 108, 355-374.
- De Mey, P., Schelkens, K. (2013). "Is communio dan toch het centrale kerkbeeld van Vaticanum II?". M. Lamberigts, L. Kenis (eds.). *Vaticanum II: geschiedenis of inspiratie. Theologische opstellen over het tweede Vaticaans Concilie*. Antwerpen: Halewijn, 85-106.
- De Mey, P. (2016). "The Role of the Observers During the Second Vatican Council". *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 60, 33-51.
- Declerck, L., Soetens, Cl. (eds.) (2000). *Carnets conciliaires de l'évêque de Namur A.-M. Charue*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Faculté de la Théologie.
- Declerck, L., Verschooten, W. (2001). *Inventaire des papiers conciliaires de Monseigneur Gérard Philips, secrétaire adjoint de la commission doctrinale*. Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid.
- Declerck, L. (2011). "Les réactions de quelques 'periti' du Concile Vatican II à la Nota explicativa praevia (G. Philips, J. Ratzinger, H. De Lubac, H. Schauf)". *Notiziario Istituto Paolo VI* 61, 47-69.
- Declerck, L. (2013). "Charue, André-Marie". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 76.
- . "Moeller, Charles". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 194.
- . "Prignon, Albert". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 221-222.
- . "Suenens, Léon-Marie". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 266.
- Declerck, L., Lamberigts, M. (2014). "De «Zwarte Week» (Settimane nera) van de derde concilietijd (14-21 november 1964)". *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 44, 403-434.
- Declerck, L., Lamberigts, M. (2017). "Mgr. J.M. Heuschen en het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie". *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 47, 5-50.
- Declerck, L. (2017). *Inventaire des papiers conciliaires d'Emmanuel Lanne, o.s.b., moine du Monastère de Chevetogne, membre du Secrétariat pour l'unité des chrétiens. Avec une Introduction par Michel Van Parys, o.s.b.*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Delgado, M., Sievernich, M. (eds.) (2013). *Die große Metaphern des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils. Ihre Bedeutung für heute*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Delgado, M. (2013). "Morcillo González, Casimiro". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 195.
- . "Silva Henríquez, Raúl". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 254-255.
- DelColle, R. (1994). *Christ and the Spirit. Spirit-Christology in Trinitarian Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dilschneider, O. (1961). "Die Geistvergessenheit der Theologie. Epilog zur Diskussion über den historischen Jesus und kerygmatischen Christus". *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 255-266.
- Diteweg, W.T. (2007). "Vatican II and the Renewal of the Diaconate". W.T. Diteweg. *The Emerging Diaconate. Servant Leaders in a Servant Church*. New York: Paulist Press, 94-119.
- Duval, A. (1993). "Le message au monde". E. Fouilloux (ed.). *Vatican II commence. Approches francophones*. Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 105-118.
- Duval, A., Raffelt, A. (2013). "Garrone, Gabriel-Marie". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.), *Personenlexikon*, 114-115.
- Eisenbach, F. (1982). *Die Gegenwart Jesu Christi im Gottesdienst: Systematische Studien zur Liturgiekonstitution des II. Vatikanischen Konzils*. Mainz: Grünewald.

- Ernesti, J., Thönissen, W. (eds.) (2010). *Personenlexikon Ökumene*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Ernst, J. (2013). "Schürmann, Heinz". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 247-24.
- Escribano-Alberca, J. (1987). *Eschatologie. Von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Faber, E.-M. (2013). "Volk Gottes". Delgado, Sievernich (eds.). *Die große Metaphern des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, 168-185.
- Faggioli, M. (2012). *Vatican II. The Battle for Meaning*. New York: Paulist Press.
- Faggioli, M. (2013). "Ottaviani, Alfredo". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 204.
- . "Felici, Pericle", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 103-104.
- . "Tromp, Sebastiaan". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 274-275.
- Famerée, J., Routhier, G.. *Yves Congar*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Famerée, J. (ed.) (2012). *Vatican II comme style. L'herméneutique théologique du Concile*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Fejérdy, A. (2013). L'Église de l'Esprit du Christ. La relation ordonnée du Christ et de l'Esprit au mystère ecclésial: une lecture de Vatican II. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg.
- Fogarty, G.P. (1997). "The Council gets underway". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 69-106.
- Fogliazza, F. (1980). *La Tematica Pneumatologica al Concilio Vaticano II*. Only the *estratto* is available.
- Fouilloux, E. (1995). "The Antepreparatory Phase: the Slow Emergence From Inertia (January, 1959 – October, 1962)". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1, 55-16.
- Fouilloux, E. (1998). *Une Eglise en quête de liberté: la pensée catholique française entre modernisme et Vatican II (1914-1962)*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Frisque, J. (1969). "Die Ekklesiologie im 20. Jahrhundert". Vorgrimler, Vander Gucht (eds.). *Bilanz der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, 192-243.
- Gaillardetz, R.R. (2006). *The Church in the Making. Lumen Gentium, Christus Dominus, Orientalium Ecclesiarum*. Mahwah, NY: Paulist Press.
- Galtier, P. (1946). "L'encyclique sur le corps mystique du Christ et la spiritualité". *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 85, 44-60.
- Gesché, A., Schruers, P., Coppens, J. (eds.) (1970). *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta (Lumen gentium, 53). Mélanges théologiques. Hommage à Mgr Gérard Philips*. Gembloux: J. Duculot.
- Gil Hellín, F. (ed.) (1995). *Concilii Vaticani II synopsis in ordinem redigens schemata cum relationibus necnon patrum orationes atque animadversiones. Constitutio dogmatica de ecclesia, Lumen Gentium*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice Vaticana.
- Granfield, P. (1979). "The Church as Societas Perfecta in the Schemata of Vatican I". *Church History. Studies in Christianity and Culture* 48, 431-446.
- Grillmeier, A. (1966). "Erstes Kapitel. Kommentar". Vorgrimler (ed.). *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 156-175.
- Grillmeier, A. (1966). "Zweites Kapitel. Kommentar". Vorgrimler (ed.). *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 176-210.
- Grootaers, J. (1970). "Le rôle de Mgr G. Philips à Vatican II. Quelques réflexions pour contribuer à l'étude du dernier Concile", Gesché, Schruers, Coppens (eds.). *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta*, 343-380.
- Grootaers, J. (1997). "The Drama Continues Between the Acts. The «Second Preparation» and its Opponents". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 359-514.
- Grootaers, J. (1986). *Primauté et collégialité: Le dossier de Gérard Philips sur la Nota Explicativa Praevia, Lumen Gentium, Chapitre III*. Leuven: University Press.
- Grootaers, J. (2002). "De plain-pied au Concile. Albert Prignon, acteur et témoin à Vatican II". *Revue théologique de Louvain* 33, 371-397
- Groppe, E. (2001). "The Contribution of Yves Congar's Theology of the Holy Spirit". *Theological Studies* 62, 451-478.

- Groppe, E. (2004). *Yves Congar's Theology of the Holy Spirit*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hahnenberg, E. (2005). "The Mystical Body of Christ and Communion Ecclesiology: Historical Parallels". *Irish Theological Quarterly* 70, 3-30.
- Haible, E. (1959). "Die Einwohnung der drei göttlichen Personen im Christen nach den Ergebnissen der neueren Theologie". *Theologische Quartalschrift* 139, 1-27.
- Hainthaller, Th. (2013). "Grillmeier, Alois". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 121-122
- Hardt, M. (2010). "Bea, Augustin", Ernesti, Thönissen (eds.), *Personenlexikon Ökumene*, 34-36.
- . "Vischer, Lukas". Ernesti, Thönissen (eds.). *Personenlexikon Ökumene*, 230-232.
- Haughey, J.C. (1968). "Church and Kingdom: Ecclesiology in the Light of Eschatology". *Theological Studies* 29, 72-86.
- Hebblethwaite, P. (1984). *John XXIII. Pope of the Council*. London: Chapman.
- Hilberath, B.J. (1994). *Pneumatologie*. Patmos Verlag.
- Himes, M.J. (2000). "The Development of Ecclesiology: Modernity to the Twentieth Century". P.C. Phan (ed.). *The Gift of the Church. A Textbook on Ecclesiology in Honor of Patrick Granfield, O.S.B.*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 45-67.
- Horst, F. van der (1963). *Das Schema über die Kirche auf dem I. Vatikanischen Konzil*. Paderborn: Bonifacius.
- Hughson, T. (2008). "Interpreting Vatican II: «A New Pentecost»". *Theological Studies* 69, 3-37.
- Hünemann, P. (2005). "The Ignored «Text». On the Hermeneutics of the Second Vatican Council". *Concilium. International Journal of Theology* 2005/4, 118-136.
- Hünemann, P. (2004). "Theologischer Kommentar zur dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche *Lumen gentium*", P. Hünemann, B.J. Hilberath, (eds.). *Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*. 5 vols.. Freiburg: Herder.
- Jáki, St. (1957). *Les tendances nouvelles de l'ecclésiologie*. Roma: Herder.
- Jodock, D. (2000). "Introduction I: the Modernist Crisis" and "Introduction II: Modernists and anti-Modernists". D. Jodock (ed.). *Catholicism Contending with Modernity. Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-27.
- Jünemann, A. (2003). *Kirche – Werkzeug des Geistes. Elemente einer pneumatologische Ekklesiologie*. Trier: Paulinus Verlag.
- Kamugisha, J.M., editors. "Rugamwa, Laurean". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 235-236.
- Kasper, W. (1976). "Die Kirche als Sakrament des Geistes". W. Kasper, G. Sauter, *Kirche – Ort des Geistes*. Freiburg: Herder, 13-55.
- Kärkkäinen, V.-M. (2016). *Spirit and Salvation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Kilmartin, E.J. (1989). "Paul VI's References to the Holy Spirit in Discourses and Writings on the Second Vatican Council, 1963-1965". *Paolo VI e i problemi ecclesiologici al concilio. Colloquio internazionale di studio, Brescia 19-20-21 settembre 1986*. Roma: Edizione Studium, 399-406.
- Klein, A., Quisinsky, M., Walter, P. (2013), "Jaeger, Lorenz". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 140.
- Klostermann, F. (1966). "Viertes Kapitel. Kommentar". Vorgrimler (ed.). *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 260-287.
- Komonchak, J.A. (1995). "The Struggle for the Council during the Preparation of Vatican II (1960-1962)". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1, 167-356.
- Komonchak, J.A. (2003). "Toward an Ecclesiology of Communion". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 4, 1-93.
- Komonchak, J.A. (2007). "Novelty in continuity. Pope Benedict's interpretation of Vatican II". *Cristianesimo nella storia* 28, 232-337.

- Komonchak, J.A. (2012). "Gaudet Mater Ecclesia. Pope John's Opening Speech to the Council". Published online at <https://jakomonchak.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/john-xxiii-opening-speech.pdf>.
- Komonchak, J.A. (2012). "The Preparatory Theological Commission". Published online at <https://jakomonchak.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/preparatory-theological-commission.pdf>.
- Kothgasser, A. (1983). "Die katholische Pneumatologie im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert. Perspektiven, Strömungen, Motive, Ausblick". Martins (ed.). *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, 611-659.
- Lacey, M. (2011). "Leo's Church and Our Own". M. Lacey, F. Oakley (eds.). *The Crisis of Authority in Catholic Modernity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 56-92.
- Lamberigts, M. (1999). "Msgr Emiel-Jozef De Smedt, Bishop of Bruges, and the Second Vatican Council". M.T. Fattori, A. Melloni (eds.). *Experience, Organisations and Bodies at Vatican II*. Leuven: Peeters, 431-469.
- Lamberigts, M., Declerck, L. (2008). "The Role of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens at Vatican II". D. Donnelly, J. Famerée, M. Lamberigts, K. Schelkens (eds.). *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council*. Leuven: Peeters, 61-217.
- Lamberigts, M., Declerck, L. (2012). "Gaudet Mater Ecclesia. Johannes XXIII's openingsrede op het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie". *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 42, 363-379.
- Lamberigts, M. (2013). "De Smedt, Emiel-Jozef". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 89.
- . "Cauwelaert, Jan Van". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 73-74.
- . "Daem, Jules Victor". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 87.
- Lamberigts, M. (2014). "Jan Van Cauwelaert en Vaticanum II". H. Derroitte, B. Lannoo, E. Manhaeghe (eds.). *Missie vandaag. Opstellen voor de honderdste verjaardag van mgr. Jan Van Cauwelaert*. Antwerpen: Halewijn, 47-57.
- Laminski, A. (1969). "Die Entdeckung der pneumatologischen Dimension der Kirche durch das Konzil und ihre Bedeutung". F. Hoffmann, L. Scheffczyk, K. Feiereis (eds.). *Sapienter Ordinare. Festgabe für Erich Kleineidam*. Leipzig: St. Benno Verlag, 392-405.
- Landrieux, M. (1921). *Le divin Méconnu*. Paris: Beauchesne.
- Laurentin, R. (1966). *Bilan du concile Vatican II. Histoire – textes – commentaires*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Laurentin, R. (1997). *L'Esprit Saint, cet inconnu. Découvrir son expérience et sa personne*. Paris: Fayard.
- Lehmann, K. "Rahner, Karl". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 224-227.
- LeRon Shults, F., Hollingsworth, A. (2008). *The Holy Spirit*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Malanowski, G. (1990). "Émile Mersch, S.J. (1890-1940). Un christocentrisme unifié". *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 112, 44-66.
- Maraldi, V. (1997). *Lo Spirito e la Sposa. Il Ruolo Ecclesiale dello Spirito Santo dal Vaticano I alla Lumen Gentium del Vaticano II*. Casale Monferrato: Edizioni Piemme.
- Martins, S. (ed.) (1983). *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. Atti del Congresso teologico internazionale di pneumatologia in occasione del 1600° anniversario del I Concilio di Costantinopoli e del 1550° anniversario del Concilio di Efeso. Roma, 22-26 marzo 1982*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- McDonnell, K. (2003). *The Other Hand of God. The Holy Spirit as the Universal Touch and Goal*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press.
- McNamara, K. (1965). "The Holy Spirit in the Church". *Irish Theological Quarterly* 32, 281-294.
- Melloni, A. (2000). "The Beginning of the Second Period: The Great Debate on the Church". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 3, 1-115.
- Melloni, A., Ruozzi, F., Galavotti, E. (eds.) (2015). *Vatican II: The Complete History*. New York: Paulist Press.
- Melloni, A., Turbanti, G. (2015). "The Central Commission and the Preparatory Commissions". A. Melloni, F. Ruozzi, E. Galavotti (eds.). *Vatican II: The Complete History*, 58-75.

- Mersch, E. (1933). *La théologie du corps mystique. Études de théologie historique*. 2 vols. Louvain: Museum Lessianum.
- Mersch, E. (1944). *La théologie du corps mystique*. 2 vols. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Mettepenningen, J. (2005). "Van vloek tot zegen. Een eeuw modernisme". *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 35, 227-257.
- Mettepenningen, J. (2010). *Nouvelle Théologie – New Theology. Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II*. London: T&T Clark.
- Mettepenningen, J. (2013). "Dhanis, Édouard". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 92.
- Moda, A. (2012). *Lo Spirito Santo. Alcune piste di riflessione nella teologia sistematica cattolica a partire dal Vaticano II*. Torino: Claudiana.
- Moeller, C. (1966). "Het rijpen van de ideeën bij de voorbereiding van de constitutie". Baraúna (ed.). *De Kerk van Vaticanum II*, vol. 1, 156-192.
- Mokry, S. (2013). "Döpfner, Julius". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 94-95.
- Molinari, P. (1961). "Alcune riflessioni teologiche sulla funzione dei Santi nella Chiesa". *Gregorianum* 42, 63-96.
- Molinari, P. (1964). *Die Heiligen und Ihre Verehrung*. Freiburg: Herder. Translation of P. Molinari (1962), *I Santi e il loro culto. Con una Prefazione di sua Eminenza il Cardinale Arcadio Larraona, Prefetto della Sacra Congregazione dei Riti*. Roma: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana.
- Molinari, P. (1966). "De eschatologische aard van de pelgrimerende kerk en haar betrekkingen tot de hemelse kerk". Baraúna (ed.). *De Kerk van Vaticanum II*, vol. 2, 449-471.
- Molinari, P. (1988). "La storia del capitolo VII della costituzione dogmatica «Lumen Gentium»: Indole escatologica della chiesa pellegrinante e sua unione con la chiesa celeste". *Miscellanea in occasione del IV centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (1588-1988)*. Città del Vaticano: Guerra, 113-158.
- Moltmann, J. (1991). *Der Geist des Lebens. Eine ganzheitliche Pneumatologie*. München: Kaiser Verlag.
- Moons, J. (2013). "The Holy Spirit in Pre-Conciliar Ecclesiology. The Beginnings of a Rediscovery?". *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology* 74, 240-254.
- Moons, J. (2016). "A Pneumatological Conversion? The Holy Spirit's Activities According to *Lumen Gentium*". S. van Erp, K. Schelkens (eds.). *Conversion and Church. The Challenge of Ecclesial Renewal*. Leiden: Brill, 244-260.
- Moons, J. (2018). "«Aroused and sustained by the Holy Spirit»? A Plea for a Pneumatological Reconsideration of *Sensus Fidei* on the Basis of *Lumen Gentium* 12". *Gregorianum* 99 (2018), 271-292.
- . "«The Holy Spirit Leads the Church through Charismas» (LG 12). The Conciliar Doctrine on Charisma and its Significance for the Laity's Active Involvement in the Church". A. Mayer (ed.). *The Letter and the Spirit: On the Forgotten Documents of Vatican II*. Leuven: Peeters, 233-245.
- Mühlen, H. (1963). *Der Heilige Geist als Person. Beitrag zur Frage nach der dem heiligen Geiste eigentümlichen Funktion in der Trinität, bei der Inkarnation und im Gnadenbund*. Münster: Aschendorff.
- Mühlen, H. (1966). *Una mystica Persona. Die Kirche als das Mysterium der heilsgeschichtlichen Identität des heiligen Geistes in Christus und den Christen: eine Person in vielen Personen*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. München: Schöningh Verlag.
- Müller, C. (2002). *Die Eschatologie des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils: Die Kirche als Zeichen und Werkzeug der Vollendung*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Müller, G. (1986). "Der theologische Ort der Heiligen: Überlegungen zum ekklesiologischen Ansatz des 2. Vatikanischen Konzils". *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 108, 145-154.
- Mullins, P. (1993). "Pentecost and Ecclesiology in Vatican II's *Lumen gentium*". *Milltown Studies* 31, 53-78.
- Mullins, P. (1994). *The Teaching of Lumen Gentium on the Holy Spirit: the Holy Spirit Was Sent at Pentecost in Order that He might Continually Sanctify the Church*. Ann Arbor (MI): University Microfilms.
- Napiwodzski, P. (2005). *Ekklesiologie im Werden. Mannes Dominikus Koster und sein Beitrag zum theologischen Verständnis der Kirche*. (2005), online at [https://doc.rero.ch/record/5056/files/1\\_NapiwodzskiP.pdf](https://doc.rero.ch/record/5056/files/1_NapiwodzskiP.pdf).



- Nédoncelle, M., Evdimokov, P., Aubert, R. (eds.) (1960). *L'ecclésiologie au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Neuhold, D. (2013). "König, Franz". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 155-156.
- Nissiotis, N. (1965). "The main ecclesiological problem of the Second Vatican Council, and the position of the non-Roman Catholic facing it". *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 2 (1965), 31-62.
- O'Connor, E. (1978). *Pope Paul and the Spirit. Charisms and Church Renewal in the Teaching of Paul VI*. Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press.
- O'Malley, J. (1989). "Vatican II: Historical Perspectives on its Uniqueness and Interpretation", J. O'Malley, *Tradition and Transition: Historical Perspectives on Vatican II* (Wilmington: M. Glazier, 1989), 19-31. First published in L. Richard, D. Harrington (eds.) (1987). *Vatican II. The Unfinished Agenda: A Look to the Future*. New York: Paulist Press.
- O'Malley, J. (2003). "Vatican II: Official Norms. With a Response to Cardinal Avery Dulles". *America Magazine* (31 March 2003), 11-14.
- O'Malley, J. (2006). "Did Anything Happen at Vatican II?". *Theological Studies* 67, 3-33.
- O'Malley, J. (2008). *What Happened at Vatican II*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- O'Malley, J. (2012). "«The Hermeneutic of Reform»: a Historical Analysis". *Theological Studies* 73, 517-546.
- O'Malley, J. (2013). "Misdirections: Ten Sure-Fire Ways to Mix Up the Teachings of Vatican II". *America Magazine* (4 February 2013), 25-27.
- Oeldemann, J. (2010). "Schmemmann, Alexander". Ernesti, Thönissen (eds.). *Personenlexikon Ökumene*, 203-204.
- Ormerod, N. (2010). "Vatican II – Continuity or Discontinuity? Toward an Ontology of Meaning". *Theological Studies* 71, 609-636.
- Otu, G. (2001). *The Holy Spirit in the Mission of the Church in Vatican II and in Post-Conciliar Theology*. Romae: Pontificia universitas Gregoriana.
- Palmer, E.H. (1958). *The Holy Spirit*. Grand Rapids: MI: Baker Books.
- Phan, P.C. (2008). "Roman Catholic Theology". J.L. Walls (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 215-232.
- Philipon, M. (1966). "De allerheiligste Drieëenheid en de Kerk". Baraúna (ed.). *De Kerk van Vaticanum II*, vol.1, 301-323.
- Philips, G. (1945). *De heilige Kerk*. 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed.. Antwerpen: Pantheon.
- Philips, G. (1948). "Le Saint Esprit en nous. À propos du'un livre récent". *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* 24, 127-135.
- Philips, G. (1949). "De heilige drievuldigheid in het leven van de Christen". *Tijdschrift voor geestelijk leven* 5, 225-244.
- Philips, G. (1964). "Het schema over de Kerk (op het tweede Vatikaans Concilie)". *De maand. Algemeen tijdschrift voor sociale en culturele bezinning* 7, 330-340.
- Philips, G. (1966). "Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Konstitution über die Kirche «Lumen gentium»". Vorgrimmler (ed.). *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 139-155.
- Philips, G. (1967-1968). *L'église et son mystère au II<sup>e</sup> Concile du Vatican. Histoire, texte et commentaire de la Constitution Lumen Gentium*. 2 vols. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. Published simultaneously in Dutch.
- Pottmeyer, H.J. (1987). "A New Phase in the Reception of Vatican II: Twenty Years of Interpretation of the Council". G. Alberigo, J-P. Jossua, J. Komonchak (eds.). *The Reception of Vatican II*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 27-43.
- Poulat, E. (1969). *Intégrisme et catholicisme intégral. Un réseau secret international antimoderniste: La «Sapinière» (1909-1921)*. Tournai: Casterman.
- Quisinsky, M., Walter, P. (eds.) (2013). *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.. Herder: Freiburg.

- Quisinsky, M. (2013). "Butler, Christopher Basil". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 65-66.
- . "Congar, Yves". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 82-83.
- . "Cullmann, Oscar". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 84-85.
- . "Daniélou, Jean". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 87-88.
- . "Florit, Ermenegildo". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 107-108.
- . "Frisque, Jean". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 111-112.
- . "Gagnebet, Marie-Rosaire". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 112-113.
- . "Hurley, Denis". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 138.
- . "Klostermann, Ferdinand". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 153-154.
- . "Küng, Hans". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 157-158.
- . "Lanne, Emmanuel". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 160.
- . "Martin, Joseph". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 187.
- . "Nissiotis, Nikos". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 199-200.
- . "Welykyj, Athanasius Gregorius". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 287.
- . "Ziadé, Ignace". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 295-296.
- Raffelt, A. (2013). "Liénart, Achille". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 173-174.
- . "Rigaux, Bédé". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 228.
- . "Thils, Gustave". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 270.
- Raffelt, A., Quisinsky, M. (2013). "Marty, François". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 187-188.
- Rahner, K. (1954). "Zur scholastischen Begrifflichkeit der ungeschaffenen Gnade". K. Rahner. *Schriften zur Theologie*. Einsiedeln: Benzinger, vol. I., 347-375. Originally published in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 63 (1939), 137-156.
- Rahner, K. (1958). "Das Charismatische in der Kirche". K. Rahner. *Das Dynamische in der Kirche*. Freiburg: Herder, 37-73. First published in *Stimmen der Zeit* 160 (1956/57), 161-186.
- Rahner, K. (1959). "Eschatologie". J. Höfer, K. Rahner (eds.). *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.. Freiburg: Herder, 1094-1098.
- Rahner, K. (1960). "Bemerkungen zum dogmatischen Traktat «de Trinitate»". *Schriften zur Theologie*. Freiburg: Herder, vol. IV, 103-133. Originally published in L. Lenhart (ed.) (1960). *Universitas. Dienst an Wahrheit und Leben. Festschrift für Bischof Dr. Albert Stohr*. Mainz: Grünewald, 130-150; elaborated for *Mysterium Salutis*, cf. *Sämtliche Werke*, vol 22/1B, 513-574.
- Rahner, K., Semmelroth, O. (2013). *Animadversiones «De Ecclesia»*. K. Rahner. *Das Zweite Vatikanum. Beiträge zum Konzil und seiner Interpretation. Bearbeitet von Günther Wassilowsky*. Freiburg: Herder, 298-339.
- Ratzinger, J. (1966). "Einleitung". *Dogmatische Konstitution über die Kirche. Authentischer lateinischer Text. Deutsche Übersetzung im Auftrag der deutschen Bischöfe. Mit einer Einleitung von Joseph Ratzinger*. Münster: Aschendorff, 7-19.
- Reudenbach, H.-J. (2013). "Schauf, Heribert". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 239.
- Riccardi, A. (1997). "The Tumultuous Opening Days of the Council". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 1-67.
- Rieger, R. (2012). "Oberman, Heiko". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 201-202.
- Rikhof, H. (2009). "The Current Renaissance of the Theology of the Trinity. A Reconstruction". *Bijdragen. International Journal in Philosophy and Theology* 70, 423-457.
- Routhier, G. (2006). "L'assemblée extraordinaire de 1985 du synode des évêques: moment charnière de relecture de Vatican II dans l'Église catholique". Ph. Bordeyne, L. Villemin (eds.). *Vatican II et la théologie. Perspectives pour le xxe siècle*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 61-88.

- Routhier, G. (2009). "Le Concile Vatican II livré aux interprétations de générations successives". *Science et Esprit* 61/2-3, 237-255.
- Routhier, G., Roy, Ph., Schelkens, K. (eds.) (2011). *La théologie catholique entre intransigeance et renouveau: la réception des mouvements préconciliaires à Vatican II*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Brepols.
- Routhier, G. (2013). "Léger, Paul-Émile". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 270.
- Roy, Ph. (2011). *Le coetus internationalis patrum, un groupe d'opposants au sein du Concile Vatican II*.
- Roy, Ph. (2012). *Bibliographie du Concile Vatican II*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- Roy, Ph. (2013). "Histoire du Coetus Internationalis Patrum au Concile Vatican II". *Laval théologique et philosophique* 69, 261-279.
- Roy, Ph. (2013). "Bea, Augustin". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 48-50.
- . "Carli, Luigi Maria". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 72.
- . "Confalonieri, Carlo". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 81-82.
- . "Cicognani, Amleto Giovanni". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 78.
- . "De Proença Sigaud, Geraldo". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 88-89.
- . "Franić, Frane". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 108-109.
- . "Larraona, Arcadio María". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 161-162.
- . "Prou, Jean". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 22.
- . "Ruffini, Ernesto". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 234-235.
- . "Rupp, Jean". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 236.
- . "Santos, Rufino Jiao". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 238-239.
- Ruggieri, G. (1997) "Beyond an Ecclesiology of Polemics: the Debate on the Church". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 2, 281-357.
- Rush, O. (2003). "The Offices of Christ, *Lumen Gentium* and the People's Sense of the Faith". *Pacifica. Australian Theological Studies* 16, 137-152.
- Rush, O. (2004). *Still Interpreting Vatican II. Some Hermeneutical Principles*. New York: Paulist Press, 2004.
- Rush, O. (2012). "Towards a Comprehensive Interpretation of the Council and its Documents". *Theological Studies* 73, 547-569.
- Schauf, H. (1941). *Die Einwohnung des Heiligen Geistes. Die Lehre von der nichtappropriierten Einwohnung des Heiligen Geistes als Beitrag zur Theologiegeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der beiden Theologen Carl Passaglia und Clemens Schrader*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Scheffczyk, L. (1983). "Der heilige Geist in der Abendländischen Tradition". Martins (ed). *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, 445-460.
- Schelkens, K. (ed.) (2006). *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard Philips, secrétaire adjoint de la Commission Doctrinale. Texte néerlandais avec traduction française et commentaires. Avec une introduction par L. Declerck*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Schelkens, K. (2008). "*Lumen gentium*'s «*subsistit in*» revisited: the Catholic Church and Christian unity after Vatican II". *Theological Studies* 69, 875-893.
- Schelkens, K. (2010). *Catholic Theology of Revelation on the Eve of Vatican II: A Redaction History of the Schema De Fontibus Revelationis (1960-1962)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Schelkens, K. (ed.) (2011). *The Council Notes of Edward Schillebeeckx 1962-1963. Critically annotated bilingual edition. With a Preface by Mathijs Lamberigts and an Introduction by Erik Borgman*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Schelkens, K. (2012). "Van dualisme naar veelheid. Pleidooi voor een katholieke lezing van het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie". *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 42, 381-401.

- Schelkens, K., De Pril, W. (2012). "De lange weg naar *Lumen gentium*. Een nieuwe blik op de ecclesiologie in de aanloop naar het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie". *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 52, 312-329.
- Schelkens, K. (2013). "Johannes XXIII", Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 143-145.
- . "Cerfaux, Lucien". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 74-76.
- . "Paul VI". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 207-210.
- . "Philips, Gerard Gustaaf Alfons". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 213-214.
- . "Schillebeeckx, Edward". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 241-242.
- Schelkens, K. (2017). "Andermaal subsidit in. Historische voetnoot bij een lopend debat". *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 57, 256-271.
- Schilson, A. (1994). "Christologie im 20. Jahrhundert". W. Kasper et al.. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Freiburg: Herder, vol. 2., 1170-1174.
- Schmaus, M. (1948). *Katholische Dogmatik*. 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> ed. vol. 1.2. München: Max Hueber Verlag.
- Schmaus, M. (1958). *Katholische Dogmatik*. 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> ed. vol. 3.1. München: Max Hueber Verlag.
- Schmaus, M. (1960). *Katholische Dogmatik*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. vol. 1. München: Max Hueber Verlag.
- Schmaus, M. (1962). *Katholische Dogmatik*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. vol. 2.1. München: Max Hueber Verlag.
- Schmaus, M. (1963). *Katholische Dogmatik*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. vol. 2.2. München: Max Hueber Verlag.
- Schmaus, M. (1965). *Katholische Dogmatik*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. vol. 3.2. München: Max Hueber Verlag.
- Schmiedl, J. (ed.) (2015). *Heinrich Tenhumberg. Als Weihbisschof auf dem Konzil. Tagebuchnotizen 1962-1965*. Münster: Aschendorf Verlag.
- Schoof, T.M. (1968). *Aggiornamento. De doorbraak van een nieuwe katholieke theologie*. Baarn: Het Wereldvenster.
- Schönborn, C. (1988). "Die Communio der drei kirchlichen Stände". *Internationale katholische Zeitschrift Communio* 17, 8-20.
- Schürmann, H. (1966). "De geestelijke genadegaven". Baraúna (ed.). *De Kerk van Vaticanum II*, vol. 1, 579-604.
- Schüssler Fiorenza, F., Galvin, J.P. (eds.) (2011). *Systematic Theology. Roman Catholic Perspectives*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Schütz, C. (1985). *Einführung in die Pneumatologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Semmelroth, O. (1955). *Die Kirche als Ursakrament*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.. Frankfurt: Josef Knecht. First edition 1953.
- Semmelroth, O. (1966). "Kommentar zum VII. Kapitel". Vorgrimmler (ed.). *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, vol. 1, 314-325.
- Sesboué, B. (2009). *L'Esprit sans visage et sans voix. Brève histoire de la théologie du Saint-Esprit*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Sirks, G.J. (1957). "The Cinderella of Theology: The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit". *The Harvard Theological Review* 50, 77-89.
- Smit, L.W.J. (1944). "De Heilige Geest en het mystieke lichaam van Christus". G. Kreling, A. Mulders, J. Bittremieux, K. Steur (eds.). *Theologische opstellen opgedragen en aangeboden aan Mgr. Dr. G.C. van Noort*. Utrecht: Spectrum, 210-223.
- Sullivan, F. (1992). *Salvation Outside the Church? Tracing the History of the Catholic Response*. New York: Paulist Press.
- Tagle, L.A. (2003). "The «Black Week» of Vatican II (November 14-21 1964)". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 4, 387-452.
- Théobald, C. (2007). *Le Christianisme comme style. Une manière de faire de la théologie en post-modernité*. 2 vols.. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Thiselton, A. (2013). *The Holy Spirit. In Biblical Teaching, Through the Centuries, and Today*. London: SCPK.
- Tromp, S. (1932). *De Spiritu Sancto anima Corporis Mystici. Series I. Testimonia selecta e patribus Graecis. Series II. Testimonia selecta e patribus Latinis*. Romae: Apud aedes universitatis Gregorianae.

- Tromp, S. (1937). *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. I. Introductio generalis*. Romae: Apud aedes universitatis Gregorianae.
- Tromp, S. (1946). *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. I. Introductio generalis*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.. Romae: Apud aedes universitatis gregorianae.
- Tromp, S. (1960). *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. II. De Christo capite mystici corporis*. Romae: Apud aedes universitatis Gregorianae.
- Tromp, S. (1960). *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. III. De Spiritu Christi anima corporis mystici*. Romae: Apud aedes universitatis Gregorianae.
- Tromp, S. (1958). *Litterae encyclicae Pius Papa XII de mystico Iesu Christi corpore deque nostra in eo cum Christo coniunctione «Mystici Corporis Christi». Tertio edidit uberrimis documentis illustravit Sebastianus Tromp S.I.* Romae: Romae: Apud aedes pontificae universitatis Gregorianae.
- Trütsch, J. (1949). *SS. Trinitatis inhabitatio apud theologos recentiores*. Trento: Tipografia editrice mutulati e invalidi.
- Tück, J.H. (2013). "Sakrament des Heils für die Welt. Annäherungen an einen ekklesiologischen Leitbegriff des Konzils". Delgado, Sievernich (eds.). *Die große Metaphern des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, 141-167.
- Valeske, U. (1962). *Votum Ecclesiae. I. Teil. Das Ringen um die Kirche in der neueren römisch-katholischen Theologie. Dargestellt auf dem Hintergrund der evangelischen und ökumenischen Parallel-Entwicklung; II. Teil. Interkonfessionelle ekklesiologische Biographie*. München: Claudius.
- Vance-Trembath, S. (2009). *The Pneumatology of Vatican II. With Particular Reference to Lumen gentium and Gaudium et spes*. Köln: Lambert academic publishing.
- Vazhayil, S.M. (2001). *The Relationship between Pneumatology and Ecclesiology in the Teachings of Pope Paul VI. Excerpta ex disseratione etc.* Romae: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana.
- Velati, J. (2014). *Separati ma Fratelli. Gli osservatori non cattolici al Vaticano II (1962-1965)*. Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Vilanova, E. (2000). "The Intercession (1963-1964)". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 3, 37-490.
- von Teuffenbach, A. (ed.) (2006). *Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ. Mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Theologischen Kommission (1960-1962)*. Rome, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana.
- von Teuffenbach, A. (ed.) (2011). *Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ. Mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Theologischen Kommission (1962-1963)*. Nordhausen: Bautz Verlag.
- von Teuffenbach, A. (ed.) (2014). *Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ. Mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Theologischen Kommission (1963-1964)*. Nordhausen: Bautz Verlag.
- Vorgrimler, H. (ed.) (1966-1968). *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil. Konstitutionen, Dekrete und Erklärungen. Lateinisch und Deutsch. Kommentare*. 3 vols.. Freiburg: Herder.
- Vorgrimler, H., Vander Gucht, R. (eds.) (1969). *Bilanz der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert. Perspektiven, Strömungen, Motive in der christlichen und nicht-christlichen Welt*. 3 vols. Freiburg: Herder.
- Walter, P. (2003). "Urbani, Giovanni". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 276.
- Wassilowsky, G. (2001). *Universales Heilssakrament Kirche: Karl Rahners Beitrag zur Ekklesiologie des II. Vatikanums*. Innsbruck: Tyrolia.
- Wassilowsky, G. (2013). "Sammelroth, Otto". Quisinsky, Walter (eds.). *Personenlexikon*, 250-251.
- Wesseling, T. (1943). "The Encyclical «Mystici Corporis». Summary and commentary". *Orate Fratres* 17, 529-537.
- Wicks, J. (2012). "Vatican II Taking Hold of Its (and Pope John's) Council Goals, September 1962–May 196". *Josephinum Journal of Theology* 19/1, 172-186.
- Williams, R. (1999). "Word and Spirit". R. Williams. *On Christian Theology*. Oxford: Blackwell, 107-127. Originally published in K. Kremkau (ed.), *Das Religiöse Bewusstsein und der Heilige Geist in der Kirche* (Frankfurt: Lembeck, 1980), 77-94.

- Witte, H. (2014). "De hermeneutiek van Vaticanum II en *Lumen gentium*". *Collationes. Vlaams tijdschrift voor theologie en pastoraal* 44, 381-400.
- Witte, H. (2016). *De ignatiaanse 'manier van doen' als inspiratie bij het verstaan van Vaticanum II*. Tilburg: Tilburg University.
- Wittstadt, K. (1995). "On the Eve of the Second Vatican Council". Alberigo, Komonchak (eds.). *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1, 405-500.
- Zuijdwegt, G. (2013). "Salvation and the Church. Feeney, Fenton and the Making of *Lumen Gentium*". *Louvain Studies* 37, 147-178.